Political
Suffrage
General

PLAIN BUNK

A well known leader writes that the "white man is guileful and the black man is gullible." This statement was inspired by the clever manner in which black people are being jockeyed in national politics. It strikes us that the great rank and file of both black and white are gullible and by that we mean that they readily believe that which is not true. There are white people in this country who really believe that the Republican party is seeking to establish some kind of social equality for the black people and on the other hand there are black people who are fed up on the idea that the Democratic party champions lynchings and would put them back in the house of bondage. It is gullibility, pure and simple.

The Republicans have neither thought nor concern about establishing the myth of social equality; in fact our social, political and economic problems are not in the scheme of party politics. Those who dope up racial propaganda and seek to turn away white votes from the Republican party thereby, know that in certain sections of this country this kind of talk arouses the sluggish, backward, ignorant whites who feast upon it like dogs on raw meat. They, like some others that we know about, are reached through emotions and their emotions alone. No intelligent black man nor any fair minded American citizen of the white race is alarmed or concerned about the Republicans changing the existing status of the black man. There is no such issue involved. The black people are not expecting any sudden upheaval themselves along these lines and would be amazed and dumbfounded beyond expression if any drastic or radical changes were made in regard to themselves. They know what to expect from the Republicans.

Just as most of the southern whites view the Republicans as champions of the black man's cause, just so a large portion of black voters shrink from the idea of a Democratic administration; but if any individual, be he white or black, were asked the difference in regards to the black man of Woodrow Wilson's or Harding's or Coolidge's administration he could not state it to save his life, for there were no outstanding differences. We have lived and survived under both Democratic and Republican administration under virtually the same conditions, and this writer feels that we will continue to do so.

We feel that a campaign of intelligence and truth is sadly needed both among the blacks and the whites and the question about race ought to be disregarded. The great questions before the country today do not include the problems of the black man and we do not believe that either of the parties is ever going to work them out; the black man will be compelled to work them out himself. When he gets strong enough economically he will be able to get his political rights.

The issues that are deemed paramount before the nation now are the questions concerning prohibition, farm relief, foreign relations and trade in general and whenever the issues of race or religion are interjected and interposed it is because of the known gullibility of masses. They fall for the bunk.

The Democratic party is not interested in lynching us or disfranchising us and we do not believe that there is any practical difference in southern white Republicans and southern white Democrats. The southern white Republicans are known as Lily-White and they mean us no good and southern white Democrats feel just about the same.

We belive that it is time for the people, both white and black, to begin to think straight and spurn all of the foolish, meaningless bunk that has swayed them so long. It is time for the southern white man to awaken and put an end to his exploitation by those who have beclouded his vision with rudely drawn word pictures of black domination. It is time for the black to awaken to the fact neither political party has its foot on his neck and that he should be controlled and motivated by the issues of the day and their relation to him.

Think Before You Vote

Representatives of the parties meet in Jefferson City September 11 and there make up their party platforms. They are the nominees each has chosen to run for state offices and the platform says what they will do if elected. Four years ago, the two parties made very similar promises, but the republicans won. It is their failure to keep their word which leads us to insist that the 1928 platform shall mean more than that of 1924.

Platform talk about Negro education has been made a farce by Governor Baker's administration when it leaves in force Missouri's damnable stipulation of fifteen children before a Negro rural school is required. This unfairness is no chance. Mark the political skullduggery that has gone on in Lincoln university during the whole of this term. Remember Baker's veto of funds voted for improvements at Lincoln! Without the lynchings which Missouri has had under Baker, without this administration's heartless handling of our unfortunates, its failure to do anything constructive for Negroes proves the need of plainer language in the platforms of 1928.

The Negroes of Missouri "need everything from a hat down and from an overcoat in," and both parties need the Negro in this state. The much-talked-of "balance of power" has real existence in Missouri. The need of the parties is our opportunity to wipe out that elementary school stipulation! Let's lift Lincoln out of the political pig sty! Let's stop lynching! Let's punish any judge who takes possession of a Negro's property, and whacks off a huge chunk for his favorite as one did in St. Louis. In short, lift Missouri out of its mossback ways and set its face toward civilization! Negro voters should vote for the party that promises best, and most looks like it will carry out its promises.

Colored Population Exceeds Whites in Two States

GIVE STATISTICS ON SOLID SOUTH

Washington, D. C., Aug. 9th—Statistics showing the Negro and white population of the states of the "Solid South" has just been released here by the census department. According to the tabulation the Negro vote would be a potential power in politics in the South if it were not for disfranchisement practices. Over half the population of these states is made up of Negroes. The table follows:

State	White	Negroes
Alabama	1,447,032	900,652
Arkansas	1,279,757	472,220
Florida	638,133	329,487
Georgia	1,089,114	1,206,257
Louisiana	1,096,611	700,257
Missis-ippi	855,962	935,184
N. Carolina	1,788,779	738,407
S. Carolina	918,558	864,719
Tennessee	1,885,993	451,738
Texas	3,918,165	741,694
Virginia	11,617,999	690,017
Totals	17,129,013	8,055,760

OCT 1928

THE 14TH AND 15TH AMENDMENTS

It is with grave concern that any Southern man who thinks about his own section of the country views the possibility of the defeat of Governor Smith. Yes, we know that there are some folk, unconsciously influenced by Republican propaganda, who raise their voice in protest against what they deem injection of the Negro issue in politics. Southern people have not injected that issue. They prefer to keep it very much out of politics. But people in other sections raise it, and it becomes necessary for Southerners to fight for their own protection rather than acquiesce in an overrunning of their traditions and customs.

The South has been credited with injecting the prohibition question. The senators and representatives down here are constantly battling for enforcement of the 18th amendment. In this campaign, the Smith bolters are demanding a strict enforcement of the prohibition amendment.

What would happen if the Republicans should win by virtue of defection of Southern Democrats? It would mean that the South would not have the support of the Democrats in other sections that they have had for the past 60 years. New York Democrats have generally stood by the South. But, if Southern Democrats deliberately turn their back on the presidential candidate this year because he is from New York can they expect those New York members of congress, and the members from New Jersey, Maryland, Illinois, Ohio and other states to continue to stick with the South in the future? It would be expecting more than is reasonable from humans.

What will be the result? They will say to the South, If you insist on enforcing the 18th amendment, let's enforce the whole constitution, especially the 14th and 15th amendments, which are dead letters now. Then, what will the South do?

That is no idle threat. It is not the dream of an alarmist. It is a statement of the situation exactly as it is. If the Southern people insist on the enforcement of the 18th amendment to the point of breaking away from their party then they may expect, not an enforcement of that amendment, but, in retaliation, an enforcement of the 14th and 15th amendments. We doubt very seriously if three-fourths of the anti-Smith forces know that there are such things as the 14th and 15th amendments, and we are sure they don't know what they deal with.

Representative Dyer, Republican, of the 12th Missouri congressional district, the man who came close to putting over the anti-lynching bill, in a statement issued recently had the following to say which shows how close the South is coming for a lot of trouble:

"It is just as logical and reasonable for congress to enact laws for the rigid enforcement of these two amendments as to have the Volstead act for the enforcement of the 18th amendment," Dyer said. "The 14th and 15th amendments have provisions for enforcement laws just the same as has the 18th amendment."

"My anti-lynching bill, intended for the enforcement of the 14th amendment, passed the house by a vote of two-to-one. It went to the senate and had the support of a majority of the senators, but the Southern Democratic senators, took advantage of the filibuster and prevented its coming to a vote in the senate. Had the despotic rules of the senate been changed as Vice-President Dawes demanded, and worked for, giving the senate fair and sane rules to work under, it would have been an easy matter to have had my anti-lynching bill become a law.

"The passage of this bill would have led to the enactment of a law for the enforcement of the 15th amendment also, and would have given the Negro his full rights as guaranteed by these constitutional amendments."

As it is now, those amendments amount to only the scraps of paper they are printed upon and they remain scraps of paper at the hands of the Southern senators whose constituents yell the loudest, about nullification at any one who dares question the wisdom of the 18th amendment and the Volstead act, for I am opposed to prohibition, and would vote to repeal the 18th amendment.

"Until that is done, however, I am in favor of enforcing the prohibiton amendment as best we can by providing funds and the necessary machinery. I have so voted heretofore and will continue to do so while I am a member of congress as long as the 18th amendment stands. I could not do otherwise and be consistent in my contention and efforts to bring about similar machinery for the enforcement of the 14th and 15th amendment as that for the enforcement of the 18th amendment.

"Perhaps the world has never witnessed such inconsistency as that exhibited by the people of the Southern states in demanding and bringing about the nullification of the 14th and 15th amendments by their state legislatures, and at the same time demanding the enforcement of the 18th amendment. It is simply amazing. No amendment to the constitution means anything unless there is an enforcement act and sufficient funds appropriated for enforcement. There are powerful and influential people who are ready to demand of congress at an early session laws with ample appropriations that will make these two amendments just as effective as the 18th amendment.

"My faith is such that I believe we will see the day and that not very far off when the federal government will, by virtue of congressional acts place enforcement officers in the Southern states charged with enforcing these two amendments and give the Negroes their rights as citizens, as guaranteed by the constitution. President Coolidge in one of his messages recommended that the federal government take charge of elections in the states.

"It will be seen that my views on prohibition are not in accord with those of Herbert Hoover. But Mr. Hoover's stand on prohibition has captured the imagination of the ardent Democratic drys of the South to such an extent that they have forgotten their Democracy and have declared for Hoover and Curtis. And they cannot side-step. Hoover has their votes bagged. Who was it who mistakenly said that Herbert Hoover is not a good politician?

"On November sixth that great engineer-politician, Hoover, with the votes of the prohibitionists and those swayed because of the religious question in the South, will drive such a thick wedge through the heart of the 'solid South' and their 'white supremacy' slogan that it will blow up their whole unconstitutional program. After the solid South has been blown to pieces by Engineer Hoover, our next president, that will be the finish of the nullificationists of the South who have for 60 years violated and prevented the enforcement of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments. Then congress will enact enforcement laws that will give millions of Negroes their constitutional rights as citizens, and place them on an equality with all other races."

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Georgia.

REGISTRATION

As Secretary of the Republican State Central Committee, I am appealing to the Republicans of Georgia, in general, and of Fulton County, in particular, to double their efforts to put on a large registration of voters throughout the state. Since the 1924 Convention, we have lost two delegates to the National Convention, one in the Seventh District and one in the Ninth, because these districts failed to cast 10,000 votes for Coolidge and Dawes in 1924. It ought to be an easy matter for both of these districts, and the Atlanta District to poll 10,000 votes each in the November election. We must regain what we have lost, and I am appealing to every county and district chairman and member of the Republican State Central Committee, as well as every voter in Georgia, who believes in the principles and policies of the Republican Party, to register themselves and see to it that their neighbors register.

Independent

3-15-28

Atlanta, Ga.

I appeal especially to the colored people to write their names on the voters' list; that unless they are more active in the discharge of their political duties, and more of them register and participate in elections, we are going to lose control. The lilywhites in Louisiana and Mississippi are now moving heaven and hell to wrench the control from the old line white and colored Republicans in these states, and they will march on to Georgia next, unless we register and vote in elections.

Many Negroes were complaining yesterday because they could not vote in the Democratic primary. All such Negroes are downright hypocrites. Why should they be solicitious about voting in a primary that they have no party right to vote in, and refuse and fail to vote in a primary of their own party that is inviting them to register and vote in daily? We have always heard that the test of the pudding is in the chewing of the bag.

We need $500.00 to put on an intense campaign in Fulton County to make a house-to-house canvass, in order to make the Republicans write their names on the voters' list. You will have no trouble at the court house, if you will make the effort. The Registrar, Mr. Richardson, is a high-class gentleman, who is perfectly willing to discharge his duty without fear or favor. The Independent subscribes $50.00 to this campaign, and we appeal to the three hundred ministers of the Gospel, one hundred doctors and dentists, four lawyers and thousands of Negro workers and business men, in the city, to subscribe at least $1.00, and mail the check to the Atlanta Independent, for Fulton County Registration Fund, in the next ten days. Let us raise this money, have a mass meeting, and turn it over to the President of the Independent Voters' League to use in registering the Republican voters of Fulton County.

We will publish the names of all those who give the dollar or more to the fund. The officers of the Voters' League are: J. H. B. Evans, president; Stanley E. Gore, vice president; W. J. Shaw, secretary, and T. J. Ferguson, treasurer. Address all communications to B. J Davis, Secretary of the Republican State Central Committee.

COLORED CITIZENS URGED TO REGISTER FOR GENERAL ELECTION

To The Colored Men and Women of Walker County: Have you registered? The books close May 1st. This is a civic right that every man and woman should exercise. Do it now.—W. T. Marsh, vice-chairman, Walker Co., Republican Committee. 1tx

CONSTITUTION
ATLANTA, GA.

JUL 17 1928

THE "NEGRO BUGABOO."

On this page is a communication from Charles Adamson, of Cedartown, prominent industrialist and capitalist, and a leader of what was once the white wing of the republican party in Georgia.

In it he asks the very pertinent question, "Why persist in holding up the negro bugaboo to the public of Georgia when he is to all intents and purposes disfranchised?"

No man in Georgia knows more the significance of the "negro bugaboo" than Mr. Adamson.

In 1921 he was a leader in an attempt, fathered by President Harding, to build up in Georgia a white republican party. J. L. Philips, of Thomasville, and other leaders among white republicans, endeavored to place the party in this state on a basis of platform principles, and divorce it from racial lines. The movement seemed to meet with some success until the next national convention of the party kicked out the white Georgia organization and at the behest of negro political leaders from Chicago, Philadelphia and Boston, supplanted the white national committeeman with a negro, and turned over the administrative organization to him, and his successors, and they have since been levying tribute on white postmasters and other official appointees.

The disgraceful disclosures that came out at the recent senate hearing in Atlanta were a stench in the nostrils of every decent citizen of the state, regardless of political affiliations.

If the negro does not vote in Georgia it is because he has not paid his poll taxes, or is not intellectually qualified, or simply doesn't want to vote. Otherwise he can if he will.

But the "negro bugaboo" is not in the matter of voting. **It is in the matter of party dictatorship, and in the matter of patronage control.** We have it in Georgia, and to the credit of Mr. Adamson, Mr. Philips, Mr. Crawford, Mr. Rose, and others, they did everything within their power to hold down negro domination of their party in Georgia, but without avail.

While Bre'r Ben Davis has not as yet been renamed national committeeman, the only opposition to him is also a negro, and the indications are the federal patronage in this state as in Mississippi and other southern states, will be controlled by negro dictators so long as the republican party is in charge of the national administration. Certainly no relief along that line need be expected from Mr. Hoover, whose recent anti-segregation order is a clear indication of how he stands.

There is much in the republican platform that is commendable. There are a number of white republicans in Georgia, and in every state, who are among the highest type of citizenship. It would be to the interest of the south if the two major parties were more evenly balanced, but such a condition will never exist so long as negroes are made the party dictators and the patronage referees.

The "negro bugaboo," which Mr. Adamson does not fear, is a condition and not a theory, and he has been one of the leaders in unavailing efforts to make the republican party one of white supremacy in this state.

DIVIDED VOTE

More so than ever, the vote of our people will be divided. In this respect the Democrats will get an increased per cent. Even in the South, these voters are more outspoken in favor of the Democrats. If there be a deep seated purpose and principle in their action no fault whatever can be found in giving up the claim of the Grand Old Party. In fact the Democrats of the South were more tolerant and less inclined to think of the negro becoming "dominant," or the placing of black heels on white necks, if these voters in large numbers would be with them. Our vote will be of telling force in the close states, and in them a direct appeal is being made. On account of the seeming policy of the present administration, many leading Republicans are becoming apathetic and some of them leaning toward the Democrats. In some states where the Socialists are well organized, its candidates will receive a fair number of our votes. As a party, they show a better spirit of fair play than any other.

The mass voting of our people is not helpful in any manner, unless it is done in support of issues of great moment to the race. This kind of voting will be more shattered in the coming election than ever, especially in those states where the results will be beneficial.

Atlanta, Ga., Herald
February, June 28, 1928

A Platform Contradiction.

From the New Orleans Times-Picayune.

In the Kansas City convention we find a fervent pledge to "respect and maintain the rights of the states and to uphold the vigor and balance of our dual system of government." And then, in another place, we find a recommendation that "the Congress enact at the earliest possible date a federal anti-lynching law!"

The legislation thus earnestly recommended would be a violation of state rights so direct and flagrant that many good lawyers have challenged its constitutionality. Intended as a bid for the Negro vote in the Northern states, the plank last quoted amounts to repudiation of the platform pledge to "respect and maintain the rights of the states."

We call attention to this self-contradiction and display of bad faith —not with intent to renew the long discussion over the proposed federal "anti-lynching" bill — but as a reminder that the Republican party, while ostensibly deploring sectionalism as "destructive of national life," persists in the practice of "sectionalism" for political expediency even while it professes inability to understand why the section against which its anti-lynching plank is aimed continues to maintain political solidarity as a means of defense gainst the invasion of state rights proposed in that very plank.

REGISTER AND VOTE

The Tribune has thousands of readers in various parts of the north, east and west. Many of these readers are former residents of Georgia. To them this appeal is made, to become qualified citizens wherever they are residing. This can be done fully by registering now so as to cast a vote in the coming election in November. Unlike the South, requirements are less rigid, void of grand-father clauses and there is no red tape to prevent registration. At least a year's residence in a state and certain number of months in a precinct is all necessary for enrollment. Find out the registration dates and hours, and make it an indespensible duty to become registered, and on election day cast a vote.

495,269 Georgia Citizens Are Eligible To Cast Ballot In Election on November 6

151,347 Votes Were Cast in Presidential Election of 1920 and 234,769 in Governor's Race This Year.

In Georgia, there are 495,269 voters eligible to cast a ballot November 6.

Interest in the presidential race in 1916, when 166,511 ballots were cast brought about an increase of 27,000 votes in that year over the 1912 vote. This total outstripped even the vote of the following presidential election in 1920, when 151,347 votes were cast. In 1916, Woodrow Wilson, democratic candidate for reelection, received 125,845 votes; Hughes, republican, 11,225; Roosevelt, progressive, 20,653, and Benson, socialist, 967.

In the primary of September 12, 1928, Georgia cast 234,769 votes in the governor's race.

Four years ago Davis, democrat, polled 123,200 votes in Georgia; Coolidge, republican, 30,300, and La Follette, progressive, 12,691.

There are 1,745 polling places in the 161 counties of the state where Georgia voters next month may cast their ballot for the 14 presidential electors, and ratify nominees of the September primary.

Qualified Voters.

The following table gives the number of qualified voters in each county of the state and the vote received in each county of the state by democratic and republican nominees in 1924. The figures were obtained from official rolls, or from reliable estimates, as follows:

County—	1928 Regist.	Vote 1924 Davis	Vote 1924 Coolidge.
Appling	2,060	212	44
Atkinson	1,500	394	25
Bacon	700	961	79
Baldwin	2,617	826	107
Banks	3,500	291	80
Barrow	2,700	501	88
Bartow	3,100	846	482
Ben Hill	3,410	507	150
Berrien	3,492	409	13
Bibb	7,200	3,647	455
Bleckley	1,969	367	21
Brantley	1,300	238	9
Brooks	2,305	1,179	128
Bryant	960	196	9
Bulloch	4,500	989	37
Burke	1,600	449	76
Butts	1,560	493	50
Calhoun	1,560	343	60
Camden	890	172	1
Campbell	1,750	477	18
Candler	1,600	241	14
Carroll	7,500	1,784	526
Catoosa	1,600	661	242
Charlton	1,036	151	20
Chatham	13,400	6,158	1,800
Chattahoochee	330	208	14
Chatooga	3,200	1,615	412
Cherokee	5,600	848	601
Clarke	3,000	1,530	267
Clay	900	246	51
Clayton	2,000	273	46
Clinch	1,137	235	13
Cobb	6,300	1,360	362
Coffee	5,115	510	62
Colquitt	6,365	1,552	205
Columbia	1,000	213	47
Cook	1,755	502	44
Coweta	3,628	1,010	67
Crawford	1,947	352	7
Crisp	2,098	429	21
Dade	1,400	563	119
Dawson	310	279	204
Decatur	2,750	687	151
DeKalb	12,500	2,277	530
Dodge	6,556	1,654	91
Dooley	2,008	590	45
Dougherty	1,700	1,065	167
Douglas	2,100	255	86
Early	2,400	351	22
Echols	385	482	11
Effingham	1,000	337	39
Elbert	3,560	1,024	72
Emanuel	4,810	710	39
Evans	1,500	790	21
Fannin	3,250	1,079	1,680
Fayette	2,250	257	24
Floyd	7,200	1,922	470
Forsyth	1,900	715	298
Franklin	4,000	613	109
Fulton	63,100	7,830	3,229
Gilmer	2,700	776	912
Glascock	1,000	111	26
Glynn	3,850	612	282
Gordon	3,350	875	397
Grady	3,000	1,149	100
Greene	1,600	558	77
Gwinnett	5,000	1,011	207
Habersham	5,650	808	322
Hall	10,000	1,398	290
Hancock	1,238	272	22
Haralson	4,200	447	667
Harris	1,260	457	20
Hart	3,000	857	65
Heard	2,000	327	35
Henry	3,000	594	53
Houston	547	1,611	75
Irwin	2,350	268	35
Jackson	3,410	993	142
Jasper	1,500	448	68
Jeff Davis	2,206	122	39
Jefferson	3,348	502	163
Jenkins	1,495	290	16
Johnson	2,582	1,058	194
Jones	937	414	26
Lamar	1,607	594	28
Lanier	736	356	46
Laurens	5,500	1,127	121
Lee	698	211	23
Liberty	750	324	39
Lincoln	1,800	847	121
Long	770	499	19
Lowndes	4,250	1,095	57
Lumpkin	1,800	357	111
Macon	1,850	649	52
Madison	3,250	504	121
Marion	1,315	272	31
McDuffie	1,400	267	37
McIntosh	685	127	44
Meriwether	3,811	886	103
Miller	1,418	126	45
Milton	1,500	224	53
Mitchell	3,500	736	51
Monroe	2,248	672	64
Montgomery	1,526	353	87
Morgan	1,900	598	126
Murray	3,400	818	648
Muscogee	6,688	2,067	218
Newton	3,000	716	139
Oconee	1,500	279	46
Oglethorpe	2,284	1,748	129
Paulding	3,300	419	378
Pickens	2,500	754	1,149
Pierce	2,029	297	82
Pike	1,548	895	41
Polk	4,226	803	481
Pulaski	1,811	442	29
Putnam	1,265	457	7
Quitman	388	138	8
Rabun	2,000	454	117
Randolph	1,800	518	88
Richmond	11,252	2,469	1,996
Rockdale	1,750	382	24
Schley	750	266	12
Screven	3,500	821	288
Seminole	1,100	201	24
Spalding	4,000	1,257	75
Stephens	2,600	523	40
Stewart	1,536	408	24
Sumter	3,616	1,295	194
Talbot	1,100	491	33
Taliaferro	800	228	4
Tattnall	2,580	1,100	66
Taylor	1,872	370	96
Telfair	4,233	1,382	264
Terrell	2,000	630	45
Thomas	4,028	1,280	115
Tift	3,450	522	33
Toombs	2,700	314	92
Towns	1,537	604	765
Treutlen	1,512	252	37
Troup	4,000	1,422	165
Turner	2,500	338	166
Twiggs	1,888	417	39
Union	900	703	719
Upson	1,876	484	37
Walker	4,000	1,740	878
Walton	4,000	873	90
Ware	4,000	1,497	246
Warren	1,443	253	36
Washington	2,906	758	136
Wayne	1,259	469	33
Webster	557	140	10
Wheeler	2,407	772	4
White	1,400	476	158
Whitfield	6,000	1,256	668
Wilcox	1,975	431	21
Wilkes	2,562	836	44
Wilkinson	3,334	284	50
Worth	2,400	616	40

In 1924 only one county in the state, Fulton, gave La Follette more than 1,000. In this county, in which Atlanta is located, he got 1,579 votes. The remainder of his 12,691 votes were scattered over the counties of the state.

Suffrage

53,067 CITIZENS ENTITLED TO VOTE IN ELECTION TODAY

James W. Maddox, Dr. William Gilbert and William Dunn, Jr., in Race for County Board.

Fifty-three thousand, sixty-seven citizens of Fulton county are qualified to cast ballots in the special election today to choose a successor to the late Charles Goodrum, member of Fulton county commission.

Three candidates are in the race and all three Tuesday night predicted victory. James W. Maddox, member of the Atlanta board of education from the fifth ward for five years a member of the Atlanta police commission and a former member of city council; Dr. William Gilbert, member of Fulton commission from 1915 to 1922 and prominent doctor, and William Dunn, Jr., secretary of the Southern Metal Trades association, are the candidates.

Economy Is Urged.

All three candidates are calling for an economical and business-like administration of the county's affairs and after a hard but comparatively quiet campaign each announced Wednesday that he awaits the verdict of voters of the county with confidence.

Of the total number of voters, 49,205 are whites and 38,840 live in Atlanta; 1,539 in East Point; 1,409 in College Park; 1,015 in Hapeville; 1,464 in Buckhead, and 1,086 in Center Hill.

All three of the candidates have agreed to favor an inquiry into conditions at the courthouse, it was announced. A questionnaire sent out by the Atlanta League of Women Voters of which Mrs. Alfred Bailey is president, asked for this expression.

All polling places in Atlanta will open at 7 o'clock this morning and close at 6 o'clock in the afternoon. Country precincts will open at 8 o'clock in the morning and will close at 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

Polling Places.

City polling places follow:

First Ward—Curtis drug store, Mitchell and Forsyth.

Second Ward-A—Courthouse.

Second Ward-B—802 South Pryor, Powell's store.

Third Ward-A—43 East Hunter, corner Fraser.

Third Ward-B—588 Woodward avenue.

Fourth Ward-A—683 North Boulevard, near Ponce de Leon.

Fourth Ward-B—264 North Boulevard, near Highland

Fifth Ward-A—760 Marietta street, near Ponders avenue.

Fifth Ward-B—773 Kennedy street.

Fifth Ward-C — 1082 Marietta street.

Sixth Ward-A—170 Peachtree.

Sixth Ward-B—241 Marietta street.

Seventh Ward-A—604 Gordon, near Lee.

Seventh Ward-B—Gordon and Lucile.

Eighth Ward-A—102 East Tenth, near Peachtree.

Eighth Ward-B—Hemphill and Tenth.

Ninth Ward-A—1029 Edgewood avenue, Waller's drug store.

Ninth Ward-B—Highland near Greenwood avenue.

Tenth Ward-A—1173 Lee street.

Tenth Ward-B—919 Stewart avenue, S. W.

Tenth Ward-C—909 Dill avenue, Sylvan Hills pharmacy.

Eleventh Ward—166 Stovall street.

County Polling Places.

Polling places outside the city limits were announced as follows:

At the city halls of College Park, East Point and Hapeville, and at militia district headquarters of each of the following:

Ben Hill, Adamsville, Buckhead, Oak Grove, Peachtree, Buckhead; Collins district, A and B precincts; Center Hill district, A and B precincts; Cook's district, Pool's district, Black Hall and South Bend.

New Organization Plans Registration Campaign

Independent Voters' League Recently Organized to Put on Drive to Register 10,000 Negroes in Fulton County.

The Independent Voters' League, an organization recently formed in Atlanta and headed by some of Atlanta's young business men, is making elaborate plans to launch a city-wide and county-wide campaign to register colored voters. It is the object of the league to organize the city and county wards and precincts, having a captain in each ward and precinct, whose duty it will be to see that every person in his ward or precinct eligible to vote will be on the registration books of the city and county. The work of the league will be of a perpetual nature, and its ultimate aim is to have the city and county so well organized as to require the services of a paid worker on the job all the time with permanent headquarters.

In the near future a mammoth mass meeting will be held to which will be invited every person who is interested in the welfare of the Negro from an economic, industrial and civic standpoint. The League will be independent in nature, affiliated with no other organization of a political nature but does not plan to act without the co-operation of all civic and fraternal organizations in the city. It will attempt to work in conjunction with fraternal, social and religious bodies to the end of getting the best results for our group.

The registration books of Fulton County will soon close, and from now until the 1st of May, the League plans to devote its energies toward placing the names of 10,000 voters on the registration lists. It will furinsh all information concerning the qualifications necessary to be a voter, and explain the procedure of registering.

On page six of next week's issue will be found an article under the head of "Registration" which will give in detail the procedure of registration and the League invites every one to read carefully these instructions.

The League also plans to have on its staff of workers and officers several prominent women who will city and county in an effort to acquaint them with the necessity of registering, and keeping their names on the registration books.

The officers of the Independent go after the women of the Voters' League are: J. H. B. Evans, president; Stanley E. Gore, vice president; W. J. Shaw, secretary, and T. J. Ferguson, treasurer. The president will be pleased to have the names of any persons who are desirous of enlisting their services with the League, and requests that they send their names to him, 250 Auburn Avenue, N. E., care of Standard Life Division of National Benefit Life Insurance Company.

LEGALIZED DISFRANCHISEMENT

Independent
Atlanta Ga.
2-16-28

Within the borders of Fulton County there are the bywares of 100,000 Negroes, representing one-third of the total population of the county. Yet with this strong aggregation of citizens contributing to the economic advancement of this great community, there is not a single department of the civic government in which the Negro is represented, either by a Negro official or by proxy.

Elections are held to fill official position in such a manner that the vote of the Negro is nullified and the defeat of his will is predestined. Primaries are held to predetermine the occupants of municipal positions, and the Negro is not permitted to participate in these primaries. The decision of the voters in the primaries is inexorable.

Despite the fact that the United States Supreme Court recently decided that "white" primaries are invalid, the election laws of this municipality are so "fixed" that all possible chance for a Negro to hold office in this county has been vitiated. Three or four wards in the City of Atlanta, whose complexion is almost entirely "black," can not elect Negroes to represent their interests in the city government, because laws have been mad to guard against such a contingency. All voters are permitted to vote for all candidates for city offices.

Obviously the intent of the law is to forestall the election of a Negro to the official family of the city. This law is discriminatory; it is illegal; it is class legislation. It is against the right of self-determination for each group or ward in the city. The interests of each ward are peculiarly significant to the citizens of that ward alone, and voters of other wards should not be permitted to defeat the will of the people in other wards.

Negroes in Atlanta can never hope for more than a modicum of justice in the administration of the laws, unless and until they can have an equal chance to vote and be voted for. The questions of schools, parks, street improvements and taxes are of momentous concern to the Negro, and only when he is able to participate in determining these questions can he be assured that justice is being done. The present method of electing municipal officials in this city is legalized disfranchisement and should be amended.

REGISTRATION

As Secretary of the Republican State Central Committee, I am appealing to the Republicans of Georgia, in general, and of Fulton County, in particular, to double their efforts to put on a large registration of voters throughout the state. Since the 1924 Convention, we have lost two delegates to the National Convention, one in the Seventh District, and one in the Ninth, because these districts failed to cast 10,000 votes for Coolidge and Dawes in 1924. It ought to be an easy matter for both of these districts, and the Atlanta District to poll 10,000 votes each in the November election. We must regain what we have lost, and I am appealing to every county and district chairman and member of the Republican State Central Committee, as well as every voter in Georgia, who believes in the principles and policies of the Republican Party, to register themselves and see to it that their neighbors register.

I appeal especially to the colored people to write their names on the voters' list; that unless they are more active in the discharge of their political duties, and more of them register and participate in elections, we are going to lose control. The lilywhites in Louisiana and Mississippi are now moving heaven and hell to wrench the control from the old line white and colored Republicans in these states, and they will march on to Georgia next, unless we register and vote in elections.

Many Negroes were complaining yesterday because they could not vote in the Democratic primary. All such Negroes are downright hypocrites. Why should they be solicitious about voting in a primary that they have no party right to vote in, and refuse and fail to vote in a primary of their own party that is inviting them to register and vote in daily? We have always heard that the test of the pudding is in the chewing of the bag.

We need $500.00 to put on an intense campaign in Fulton County to make a house-to-house canvass, in order to make the Republicans write their names on the voters' list. You will have no trouble at the court house, if you will make the effort. The Registrar, Mr. Richardson, is a high-class gentleman, who is perfectly willing to discharge his duty without fear or favor. The Independent subscribes $50.00 to this campaign, and we appeal to the three hundred ministers of the Gospel, one hundred doctors and dentists, four lawyers and thousands of Negro workers and business men, in the city, to subscribe at least $1.00, and mail the check to the Atlanta Independent, for Fulton County Registration Fund, in the next ten days. Let us raise this money, have a mass meeting, and turn it over to the President of the Independent Voters' League to use in registering the Republican voters of Fulton County.

We will publish the names of all those who give the dollar or more to the fund. The officers of the Voters' League are: J. H. B. Evans, president; Stanley E. Gore, vice president; W. J. Shaw, secretary, and T J. Ferguson, treasurer. Address all communications to B. J Davis, Secretary of the Republican State Central Committee.

[illegible]VIT
[illegible]ham
[illegible]state
[illegible]oses an
[illegible]e Rev. Dr. J.
Linds[illegible]ndate for the
[illegible]ishopric in [illegible]. M. E. Church,
in which the Reverend Brother swears that the county convention, February 4th, in Chatham County, was harmonious, with the exception of five or six persons, and they withdrew about ten minutes after the convention was called to order, and these were the only persons who agreed with the Lemon faction. But the record discloses that 153 qualified Republican voters, in attendance at the meeting voted for the Lemon ticket, and 56 voted for the Pettie ticket. These voters filed affidavits as to which faction they voted for, and the affidavits are a part of the record in the office of the Republican State Central Committee, Atlanta, Ga.

Candidate Lindsay swears that there were only five or six with the Lemon faction; the voters themselves swear that 153 voted for the Lemon faction, and 56 voters swear they voted for the Pettie ticket, which, under the records filed by Lemon and Pettie, show that the Lemon faction had a majority of 97 votes over the Pettie faction. Candidate Lindsay states that there were two or three hundred people in the court house. But possibly, if he is correct, they voted neither for Lemon nor Pettie, and the majority of those who did vote, voted for Lemon.

If Candidate Lindsay can count votes at the Chicago General Conference, and see things as he saw them, according to his sworn affidavit, in Chatham County, he will be elected 'a gwine' and 'a comin'. But, it appears that a candidate for Bishop ought to stay out of party messes, and if he does attend ,he should be careful of what he swears. The Lemon faction had 153 affidavits that there were 153 people who voted for the Lemon faction, against Candidate Lindsay's one affidavit. Cases in our courts are generally decided by preponderance of evidence, and under proof, it seems that Candidate Lindsay slipped a peg, or was careless with the truth. The following is his affiavit:

"STATE OF GEORGIA—
"Chatham County:

"Personally appeared before me, an officer duly authorized by law to administer oaths, J. A. Lindsay, who, being sworn, deposes and says:

"That he is a registered voter of Chatham County, Georgia, and the pastor of the St. James A. M. E. Church, of Savannah; that he was present and took part in the Republican meeting held in the Chatham County Court House, Saturday, February 4th, 1928.

"Deponent further says that the chairman, F. B. Pettie, was fair in his rulings during the business of the convention, and everybody who desired had a chance to speak; that out of the large number present, about three hundred, everybody seemed to be satisfied except about five or six persons who were badly in the minority. Deponent further says that the minority of five or six persons left the court room in less than ten minutes after the meeting was declared open for business by the chairman who conducted the meeting in a regular manner until all business was finished. Deponent says there was no cause for dissatisfaction and everybody had a square deal.

"Rev. J. A. Lindsay, D. D.

"Sworn to and subscribed before me, this 29th day of February, 1928.

"R. Delegal Milledge,
Notary Public, Chatham County, Georgia."

Political—1928

Illinois.

Suffrage

TRIBUNE
CHICAGO, ILL.

DEC 17 1928

COUNTY MINORITY ELECTS MAJORITY OF LEGISLATORS

Need of Reapportionment Shown in Chicago.

BY ARTHUR EVANS.

Article II.

A group of small districts, mainly Democratic strongholds with small voting strength, elects a majority of Cook county's lawmakers at Springfield. Official figures on the vote cast for governor on Nov. 6, when separated into senatorial districts, reveal the following:

One-fifth of the voters in Cook county elect more than one-half of Cook county's senators and representatives.

Four-fifths of the voters elect less than one-half of Cook county's delegation in the general assembly.

The senatorial districts are twenty seven years old, the last apportionment being in 1901. The growth in population, the shiftings and the expansion and development of new areas have left representation in the law making halls choked up where it was a quarter century and more ago.

289,892 Voters Hold Whip Hand.

A glance at the map shows that a majority of Cook county's 19 senators and 57 representatives are elected from a comparatively small area roughly, including the west side Democratic bailiwicks, regions along the river and the old canal, the stock yards district, the south side down to 43d street, embracing the Negro strongholds, a strip along the north branch to Fullerton avenue and the near north side up to Goethe and Schiller streets, including the near gold coast and Streeterville.

In that area embracing ten districts a total of 289,802 voters, using the vote on governor as basis, have 10 senators and thirty representatives.

In the rest of Chicago and Cook county, nine districts with 1,200,431 voters, have 9 senators and 27 representatives.

Figures Show Inequalities.

The voting strength of the Cook county districts as shown in the vote cast for governor last month indicates the disparities and consequent disfranchisement as follows:

COOK COUNTY DISTRICTS.

Dist.—Senator	Vote.	Dist.—Senator	Vote
17—Lombardo	11,448	5—Woods	91,898
15—Boehm	16,144	23—Mason	94,999
27—Broderick	16,654	31—Haenisch	103,127
1—Marks	18,787	7—Huebsch	135,822
29—Joyce	19,822	6—Barbour	140,001
2—Mendel	25,405	19—Denvir	140,639
3—Roberts	33,234	13—Starr	143,387
9—Carroll	37,651	11—Courtney	143,431
4—McDermott	48,263	25—Steinert	207,127
21—Hughes	62,394		
Total	289,802	Total	1,200,431

At the last session of the legislature downstate senators, in oposing a reapportionment, argued that if Cook county were given more seats in conformity with the constitutional mandate to redistrict every ten years, following the federal census, the effect would be to send "more west siders" to Springfield.

The recent vote on governor, which is perhaps a more accurate guide to the growing disparities in districts than is the 1920 census, which is eight years old, gives the answer to this. It is the fact that the districts are 27 years old which fills up the seats on the minority side of the house.

The vote analysis shows that in the great northwest district of Chicago—the 25th—207,127 voters are represented by Senator T. R. Steiner and three house members. This is the largest district in the state. In comparison 179,145 voters in the eight smallest Chicago districts elect Senators Lombardo, Boehm, Broderick, Marks, Joyce, Mendel, Roberts, and Carroll, and 24 representatives.

In the 17th the smallest district in the state, over on the west side where politics has been at its worst, 11,448 voters have as much representation at Springfield as 140,000 voters in the Evanston district. A voter on the west side, in the Eller territory, counts for twelve times as much in electing sate lawmakers as a voter in Englewood, Cicero, the Calumet region, and Chicago's suburbs.

Senator Steinert represents eighteen times as many voters as does Senator Lombardo. For every voter Lombardo represents, Senators Courtney, or Starr, or Denvir, or Barbour each represents twelve voters.

Downstate Districts Suffer.

The disparities in the Chicago districts are also throwing downstate districts more and more out of kilter. Chicago now has the six smallest districts in the state. In the Herrin-Cairo, East St. Louis, Springfield and Joliet districts—the four largest growing districts downstate—276,743 voters are equal to four senators and twelve representatives.

In comparison, 289,802 voters in the ten smallest Chicago districts are equal to ten senators and thirty representatives.

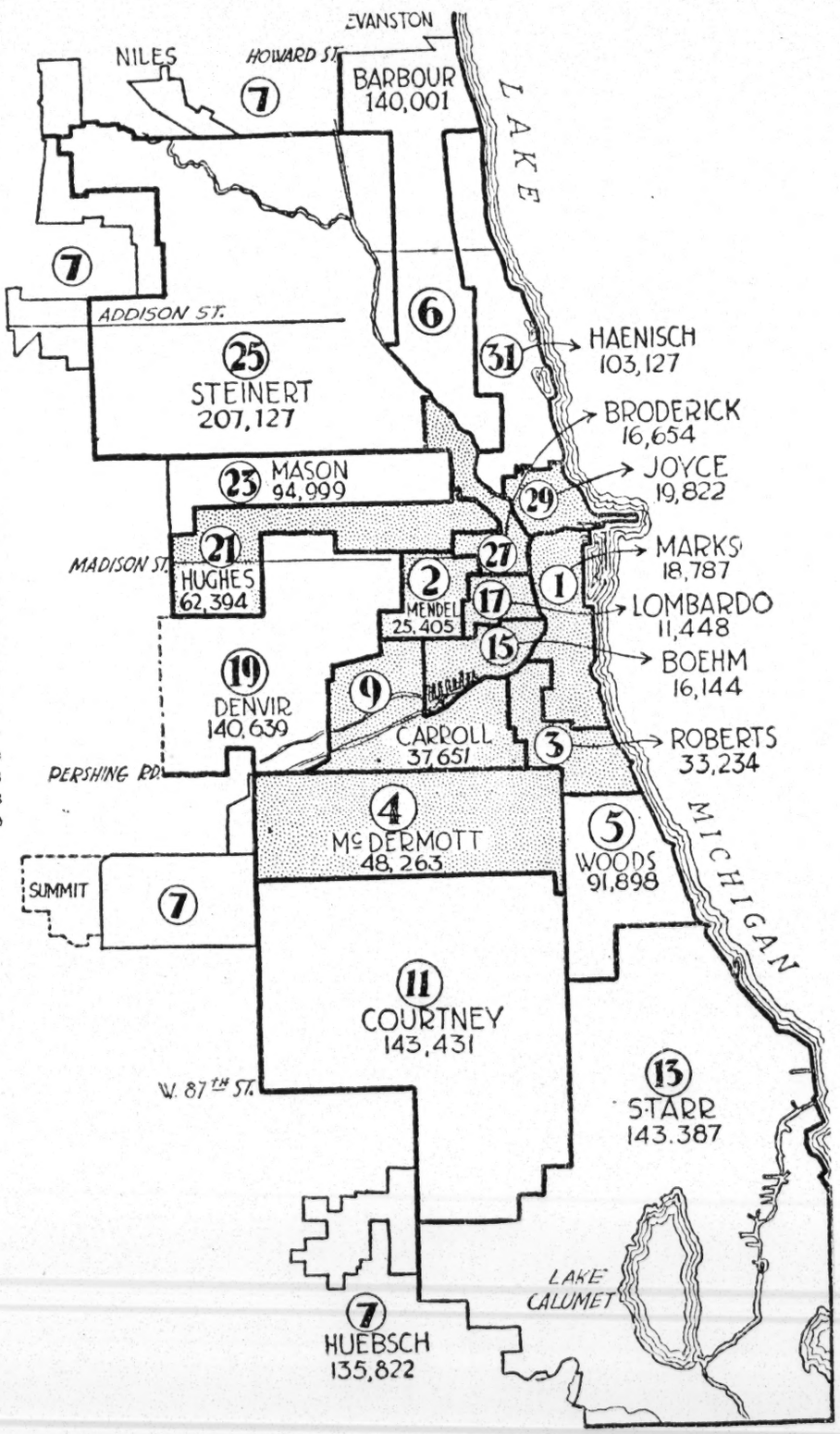
The Metropolis district is the smallest downstate, but a voter in Massac county has about one-third the voice at Springfield as a voter in the 17th pocket borough on the west side.

Vote to Aid Remapping Fight.

In the resumption of the battle for reapportionment in the coming legislative session, the recent vote will form part of the argument. Population as shown by the federal census every ten years is the basis for redistricting required by the constitution. For eighteen years the legislature has refused to act. The governorship vote, as an index of the growing inequalities, shows a general derangement of representation.

The vote cast on governor was 3,012,208. Dividing by 51, the ratio would be 59.062. Only four downstate districts and ten Cook county districts come up to this. Nine Cook county districts and 28 downstate districts are below. A minimum of four-fifths is set by the constitution. Applying this to the governorship vote as a guide, it would be 47,200 voters to a district. Eight Chicago districts and nineteen downstate districts are below this.

POCKET BOROUGHS OF COOK COUNTY



Shaded portions of the map show ten Chicago senatorial districts—with a total vote of 289,802 on governor. They elect ten senators and thirty representatives, a majority of Cook county's representation in the general assembly. The remaining nine Chicago and Cook county districts, with 1,200,431 voters, elect nine senators and twenty-seven representatives, a minority of Cook county's legislators at Springfield. The total vote cast on the governorship in each senatorial district at the Nov. 6 election and the name of each district's senator are shown.

Illinois.

Political - 1928

Suffrage

REGISTER—AND VOTE

Voting is not a pleasure but a duty. It should be both, but it most certainly is the latter. Where we are prohibited from casting a free ballot, we are refused the privilege of performing the greatest duty of the citizen. Where we have no voting restrictions, and still do not take advantage of the opportunity to express a preference at the polls, we are most derelict in our duty.

In Chicago, and in the North generally, there are no barriers to prevent all citizens from voting. The polls are free and the issues are open to all. Yet in Chicago, especially, there is manifest a lethargy that is unexplainable. What a people will clamor for the ballot and then fail to use it when they get it is beyond reasoning. And their indifference is directly responsible for the things of which they take such great delight in complaining.

If citizens do not vote they should not whine about vice conditions and bad government. If they do not show enough interest in those who are to conduct their affairs for them, they have no voice in the manner in which those affairs are conducted.

Next Tuesday, March 13, is registration day in Chicago. It applies specifically to those who have changed their places of residence within the last six months. Other states have other registration dates and all are important. It is absolutely necessary that everyone register if he plans to vote, and everyone should plan to vote. Let's go to the polls in Chicago next Tuesday and make it a red letter day for registration, and let us do likewise in other cities and states where we can vote. Then we can take an active part in selecting our next administrations—we can even "clean house" if we think it necessary.

ONE DEAD, MANY HURT IN BATTLE OF CHICAGO

Negro Attorney, Deneen Candidate, Victim of Gang.

KIDNAPERS ARE RAMPANT

County Judge Says Election Most Hectic in Years—Violence Marks Day at Polls, But Watchers Are Vigilant.

The Commercial Appeal-Chicago Tribune Leased Wire.

CHICAGO, April 10.—Attorney Octavius C. Granady, negro ex-service man, who opposed Morris Eller, boss of the Twentieth Ward and leader of the Thompson-Crowe faction for the post of ward committeeman, was slain by machine gunners this evening, after a thrilling race through the swarm streets of the ward.

It was the climax of a day of violence at the polls. Kidnapings, sluggings, shootings and all manner of attempts at fraudulent voting, featured what County Judge Edmund K. Jarecki viewed as the most hectic election in his six years at the head of the election forces.

Most of the violence was quickly subdued by a large force of police and special detectives. And most of the fraud was detected and prevented before it went far, it was reported to Judge Jarecki, who had appointed 8,000 special citizen watchers as official agents of his court.

Killed With Machine Gun.

The murder of Granady was committed, according to more than a dozen witnesses questioned by Lieutenant Phil Carroll, by seven men, armed with revolvers and a machine gun, who rode in an automobile flaunting banners of Morris Eller.

Granady at the time of the crime was driving with two companions, in an automobile carrying banners of the Deneen candidates.

Granady was the candidate of the Deneen ticket in his fight for the ward committeeship.

Cruising about on an inspection tour of the ward with Euclid Louis Taylor, a law student, and Thomas Clark, both negroes, Granady reached Blue Island and Washburn avenues, when suddenly a big sedan, with Eller banners, drove alongside. Four shots were fired.

Granady threw his car into gear and began a wild flight, with the other car in close pursuit. Tearing along Washburn Avenue Granady turned sharply at Thirteenth Street, and then when he essayed another turn at Hoyne Avenue, the car crashed into a tree.

Murderers Race Away.

With a screech of brakes the sedan came to a halt alongside, and then the rat-a-tat of a machine gun was heard. Granady fell dead to the street. Taylor fell wounded in the scalp, right eye and neck. Clark escaped unscathed. The sedan and its seven occupants were raced from sight.

Granady had made his campaign a plea to end the "rule by brute force," imposed for many years by Eller. The colored man asked that his people, who are numerous in the ward, rise up against the Thompson-Crowe combine, of which Eller is leader, and choose one of their own number as their ward representative. Figures on how strong Granady ran were not available tonight.

Many other complaints of violence and fraud came from the "unholy Twentieth," as the ward has come to be known in years of election strife. George Dothard, a Deneen worker, was shot in the right arm by two men, who sought to restrain him from going to the polls.

Police Head Threatened.

Attorney Emil J. Broz, furnished with credentials as an official watcher, reported back to the election commissioners that "Morris Eller and his gang" threw him out of two polling places.

Chief Justice Harry Olson, of the municipal court, presiding over the newly created elections branch of the court, tonight peremptorily summoned Commissioner of Police Michael Hughes before him and indicated he would punish the commissioner for contempt of court.

MACHINE GUN SPAT DEATH

Negro Attorney Opposing Thompson Forces Slain, Companion Wounded.

DENEEN WORKER IS SHOT

Adherents of Both Sides Seized by Bands in Cars and Whisked Away.

JUDGE OLSON IS ANGERED

Summons Police Chief Before Him, Hinting Contempt—Election Fraud Complaints Pile Up

Special to The New York Times.

CHICAGO, April 10.—Chicago went to the polls today with sluggings kidnappings and ther forms of violence accompanied by the murderous rat-tat-tat of machine guns.

A day of numerous charges and counter-charges of physical instead of electoral action by both sides came to a close with the spectacular machine gun killing of a negro attorney who was opposing the Thompson Crowe candidate for Committeeman in the Twentieth Ward.

Late tonight reports were still being received of the kidnapping of election officials and beatings administered to party workers

Chicago did not seem very much disturbed, despite the frequent reports of ivolence. Some persons even went so far as to call it a peaceful election. Judge Edmund Jarecki of the Election Commissioner's forces, however, said it was "the most hectic in his six years' experience with the job."

8,000 Citizens and the Police.

Eight thousand special citizen watchers appointed by Judge Jarecki to aid some 5,000 police in guarding the polls were unable to prevent the outbreaks. But according to official reports these augmented forces did quell disturbances quickly when they arose.

The negro politician slain was Octarius Granady, an ex-service man, who had opposed Morris Eller Thompson-Crowe candidate for committee representative of the Twentieth Ward. Granady was shot to death while riding in an automobile with two friends. Witnesses told detectives that the killing was the work of seven men armed with pistols and a machine gun who rode in an automobile bearing the banners of Morris Eller.

With Granady in his car, which carried banners extolling the candidacy of Secretary of State Louis L. Emmerson, opponent of Governor Len Small, and other candidates of the faction headed by Senator Charles S. Deneen, were Euclid Taylor, a law student, and Thomas Clark, both negroes.

They were on a tour of inspection of the ward and, acordingto witnesses, as they rounded a corner, the gunmen's car roared alongside.

Pistols barked four times. Granady sent his car away in wild flight. The gunmen chased it. Taking another corner on two wheels the Granady car veered, climbed the curb and crashed into a tree. As the death car reached it with grinding brakes the machine gun got into action.

With that deadly rat-tat-tat sounding above the cries of the pursued and pursuer, the fire of bullets was poured into the Granady automobile. Granady was killed instantly. Taylor was wounded in the scalp while Clark escaped almost unhurt. As the negro politician dropped to the sidewalk the gunmen sped away.

Deneen Worker Is Wounded.

The same "unholy Twentieth" reported other violence. George Dothard, a Deneen worker, was shot in the arm by two men who tried to stop him from going to the polls. Emil J. Brox, an official watcher, informed the Election Board that "some of Morris Eller's gang" threw him out of two polling places.

Chief Justice Harry Olson of the Municipal Court, presiding over the newly-created elections branch of the court, peremptorily summoned Commissioner of Police Michael Hughes before him tonight and indicated he might punish the Commissioner for contempt of court.

Judge Olson's ire was aroused when the police defied his order to produce immediately four Deneen workers who had been arrested. The four men were engaged at the time of the arrest in a search for their kinsman, Aristotle M. Colais, a candidate as a Lowden delegate to the national convention from the Eighth Congressional District, who had been kidnaped.

Numerous other kidnappings of election officials were recounted to the Election Board. Some of the men were still missing tonight, but it was believed that practically all would be home by morning.

Experienced Workers Removed.

The object of such activity, it is said, is to remove skilled workers from the polling places, so that when untrained substitutes are rushed to take their posts, the side holding the upper hand at the particular balloting place may more easily perform certain familiar work. The custom in the past has been to drive the captive officials to the edge of Cook County and there dump them out to make their way back home as best they can.

The Deneen forces said that Morris Perlman, one of their workers, had been kidnapped from a polling place on he west side. Peter Pappas, a Thompson-Crowe worker in the Forty-eighth Ward, was seized by four men and whisked away in a touring car.

Raleigh Taylor, Circuit Court bailiff and a Deneen worker, was reported beaten and seized while while carrying ballots to a voting place in the Fifth Ward. Taylor said that the men pushed him out of the car after attacking him. He was taken to a hospital.

Five men armed with sawed-off shotguns terrorized the Judges and clerks of a precinct in the Thirtieth Ward. Leveling their pistols at the patrolman on duty they shouted:

"We want a square deal or we'll shoot up the whole crowd."

Then they ran out.

Bar's Representatives Seized.

C. R. Hanson and ohn Samson, lawyers, who were among the representatives of the Chicago Bar Association appointed as special attorneys to handle fraud charges, were seized at a West Polk Street polling

place, according to reports reaching election officials.

Assistant State's Attorney Charles Daugherty, an aid of Robert E. Crowe, announced tonight that he would proceed against A .R. Brunker, President of the Liquid Carbonic Company, and Alexander Lonquist, a well-to-do real estate operator, as the result of information revealed by George Brown, a negro cartoonist.

Brown was taken into custody after confessing that he had drawn and had printed 3,500 copies of a circular depicting State's Attorney Crowe beside two negroes hanging on a gibbert, with printed matter beneath charging that under the Crowe administration only negro murderers were punished.

Brown, according to Mr. Daugherty, said that Brunkar and Lonquist had paid him to draw the picture and have the ciruclars printed. M. Brunker and M. Lonquist are leaders in the John A. Swanson Businessmen's Association, which has been active in supporting Judge Swanson against Crowe.

United States District Attorney George E. Q. Johnson received more than 100 complaints of election frauds during the day, but at night he turned them all over to the election commissioners.

"We have no jurisdiction," was his only comment.

He refused to say whether anything which had occurred during the election will be presented to the Federal Grand Jury, which has been instructed by Judge James H. Wilkerson to see that ctizens were not interfered with in their right to vote.

NEWS
CHICAGO, ILL.

MAY 14 1928

TELLS OF NEGRO STRENGTH IN CITY

Ralph Johnson Bunche Writes Resume of Political Situation.

How and why the Negro voters of Chicago decided the 1927 mayoralty election in favor of Mayor Thompson is set forth by Ralph Johnson Bunche, a Negro, graduate student at Harvard university, writing in the crrent National Municipal Review. The Review is published at Concord, N. H., by the National Municipal league.

"Any minority group which can and does control a mayoralty election in the nation's second largest municipality must be of more than passing interest," says the article, which is entitled "The Negro in Chicago Politics." Bunche maintains that this is just what has happened in Chicago. He summarizes "Mayor Thompson's debt to the Negro," and tells of the political resort to the race issue which proved a boomerang to Thompson's opponents in 1927.

Linked with Thompson.

"The history of the political development of the Negro in Chicago is interwoven with the political career of William Hale Thompson," he asserts. "When Mayor Thompson was first elected in the spring of 1915 approximately 55,000 Negroes were residents of Chicago. These were concentrated chiefly in the 2d ward. Many years before Thompson had been elected alderman from this same ward on the strength of the Negro vote.

"In the municipal election of 1915 he was solidly supported by the same electorate, gaining a majority of more than 10,000 votes over his opponent in the Negro district. In 1919, when Mayor Thompson was re-elected by a plurality of 21,622 votes in a total city vote of 698,920, his poll in the Negro wards was 15,569 to his nearest opponent's 3,323. The Negro support was consequently sufficiently strong to control the result.

"The exodus from the south greatly augmented their population. The number of Negro inhabitants in Chicago jumped startlingly from 44,103 in 1910 to 109,595 in 1920, an increase of 148 per cent, most of which occurred between 1916 and 1919. This increase virtually trebled the number of Negro voters, many of whom were of the ignorant, peasant class."

Thus the stage was set for Mayor Thompson's campaign for a comeback in 1927, which Bunche describes as "among the most exciting in Chicago's history."

"Some of Mayor Dever's candidates viciously attacked Thompson as the 'Negro candidate,'" he adds. "The inevitable result was to stampede the Negro vote to the Thompson banner more solidly than ever.

"A good deal of vilification and scurrilous propaganda was circulated during the hectic campaign. One of the more serious occurrences was the attempt by a fraudulent letter to induce large numbers of Thompson's Negro supporters to attend a meeting at noon in front of the Thompson headquarters in the heart of the 'loop.' The evident purpose of the hoax was to increase the rapidly growing friction between the white and Negro groups, perhaps even to the extent of inciting a riot. Only prompt action by Negro leaders averted a grave disaster, for all of the ill-feeling engendered by the 1919 riots had not yet been dissipated.

"Calliopes paraded the streets piping the strains of 'Bye, Bye, Blackbird.' One of the many circulars displayed a trainload of Negroes headed from Georgia with Thompson as pilot of the train, and the significant legend inscribed below: 'This train will start for Chicago, April 6, if Thompson is elected!'"

CHICAGO, ILL.

AUG 6 1928

CROWE CHIEF IS SEIZED IN NEW BOMBING

Home of Crime Jury Witness Damaged by Blast; Howard E. Reddy, Accused, Booked

Poll Terror Evidence Given by the Intended Victim; Other Houses Under Police Guard

Eller Loophole!

Michael Ahern, attorney for Morris Eller, city collector, declared yesterday that Eller did not sign an immunity waiver when he testified before the special grand jury investigating election terrorism in his ward. Eller can claim immunity and challenge the indictments against him, Mr. Ahern said. Details on page 3.

The home of William Crippene Wood, blind Negro political leader in the Fourteenth Ward and an important witness before the special grand jury investigating election frauds and terrorism, was bombed early yesterday. Wood's home is at 5000 S. State st.

Soon afterward, on Wood's accusation, police took into custody Howard E. Reddy, investigator for the Sanitary District, former deputy bailiff of the Municipal Court and until the last primary assistant chief oil inspector for the city.

Reddy at the last primary was the candidate of State's Attorney Crowe for committeeman in the Fourteenth Ward and was beaten by James Breen, assistant corporation counsel.

BARED ALLEGED STEAL.

Reddy was booked on a charge of bombing a home. It was announced evidence would be presented to the special grand jury with a view to obtaining an indictment. The penalty on this charge is imprisonment for from one to twenty years.

Wood, a Breen worker, was a captain in the twenty-second precinct. His testimony before the special grand jury, he told police, related to the alleged attempt of Reddy and a group of gunmen to steal the ballot boxes in his precinct polling place at 5016 S. State st.

At 3 o'clock Sunday morning, Wood, his wife, and their chauffeur, Harry Lewis, returned to the Wood home. The chauffeur entered the building ahead of Mr. and Mrs. Wood, ascended to the second floor to the entrance to the apartment, and hastened out again with the information that a bomb had been exploded.

A crude bomb, a steel pipe filled with black powder with a fuse inserted, had blown the door off its hinges and knocked down plaster.

BOMBING EXPECTED.

Wood hastened to the Wabash av. police station and told Capt. Richard Gill:

"It's Reddy. I expected to be bombed. I expected to be killed. Breen will bear me out that I told him Saturday I would be killed and told him I hoped he would see I got a Christian burial."

He then related the story of his disagreement with Reddy. At the primary, he said, Reddy led a group of gunmen into the polling place and placed a pistol against his (Wood's) stomach. There was a fight for the possession of the ballot boxes, police were called and the gunmen fled.

TOLD IT TO JURY.

Breen, Wood said, was notified, and immediately took steps to guard the polls in the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth precincts.

Wood and others, according to his story, told these alleged events to the special grand jury last Thursday. Wood's testimony was scheduled to be repeated to the August special grand jury.

"Saturday," Wood stated, "I met Reddy in the lobby of the City Hall. He said: 'So you are trying to hook me. Well, I'll fix you.'

"I said to Mr. Breen: 'I expect to be killed, but I will carry on. I hope you will see that I get a Christian burial.'"

Mr. Breen corroborated this story.

Reddy was turned over to Sheridan A. Brusseau, an investigator for the special grand jury.

Guards were ordered placed at Wood's home and also at the homes of four other persons connected with the primary.

Mrs. Wood is employed under civil service in the city health department.

"I know absolutely nothing about it," Reddy said, when asked about the bombing.

Bomb Home of So. Side Politician

Wm. "Crip" Wood, well known politician, living at 50th and State streets, had Howard Reddy, white, arrested and charged with bombing of his home early Sunday morning.

Reddy was arrested when Wood told the police that he had testified against Reddy before the special grand jury, telling of violence said to have been committed by Reddy during the recent primary.

Neighbors of Wood stated that they were attracted by an explosion in his home which caused part of the walls and the door to be blown away. It was stated that the bomb was evidently of diminutive size.

Wood and his wife, however, were out of the building at the time of the bombing.

Howard Reddy hastily procured a bondsman and was released on a bond of $15,000.

He was arraigned before chief justice Harry Olson in the Municipal court Monday morning. The case was continued.

Patrolman E. J. Officer was placed on duty to guard Wood's home.

REGISTER!

Citizens of Chicago should bear in mind that unless they are properly registered they will not be allowed to vote in the important presidential election in November. This is the year when every voter must register anew. Registration day are Saturday, Sept 29, 8 a. m. to 9 p. m. and Tuesday, Oct. 9, at the same hours. Under the new law you do not have to state your age, date of birth, or residence in the United States when you register to vote. IF YOU WOULD VOTE YOU MUST REGISTER.

Political - 1928

Illinois,

Suffrage

'Grandfather Laws' Are Scored By Negro Editor

Vare and Thompson Machines and Tammany Hall Not as Bad as "Rotten Boroughs" in South Which Bar Race From Voting, DuBois Declares.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 19.—(AP)—A declaration that democratic government in America is out of the question until the country faces what he described as the problem of negro disenfranchisement in the south was made today by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, editor of The Crisis, before the national interracial conference.

"Until the liberal white south has the courage to stand up for democracy, regardless of race, there will be no solution of the negro problem and no solution of the problem of popular government in America," he said.

HELPLESS.

"A disfranchised working class in modern industrial civilization is worse than helpless," he added. "It is a menace, not simply to itself, but to every other group in the community. It will be diseased; it will be criminal; it will be ignorant; it will be the plaything of mobs and it will be insulted by caste restrictions."

Dubois said the political power in the south "is vested in the hands of a clique of professional politicians, white and black, and there is nothing that has been done in dirty politics by Tammany in New York, by Thompson in Chicago, by Vare in Philadelphia, that you cannot find duplicated by the political oligarchies which rule the southern south."

IMPOSSIBLE.

"Nor is that all," he continued. "Because of the rotten boroughs of the south, real democratic government is impossible in the north. The democratic party cannot become a liberal body because the bulk of its support depends upon disfranchisement, mass and race hate in the south."

Statistics purporting to show the negro a greater criminal than the whites are glossly inaccurate and have not been authenticated, said Thorsten Sellin, of the University of Pennsylvania. This inaccuracy is largely the result, he added, of discrimination against the negro by courts, and their inability to pay fines and their resultant imprisonment.

The conference, called by 16 national organizations dealing with racial problems to interchange information on the negro's relations with the white race, concluded its three-day session tonight.

TRIBUNE
CHICAGO, ILL

NOV 4 1928

COLORED VOTERS URGED TO STAGE REVOLT AT POLLS

Granady Murder Expected to Change Support.

Colored citizens of the black belt district, reckoned heretofore as controlled by Crowe-Thompson-Eller bosses, were urged yesterday to help finish the job of ridding Chicago of the gang responsible for the murder of one of their race, Octavius C. Granady in the Bloody Twentieth ward last April.

Three Negro leaders, an attorney, a business man and a clergyman, united in an appeal for an independent colored revolt at the polls next Tuesday. Their plea stressed, in particular, the candidacy of John A. Swanson as state's attorney and the defeat of Morris Eller for sanitary district trustee.

Banker Sees Revolt.

"Our people at this election have a real opportunity to demonstrate their independence," said Anthony Overton, president of the Douglass National bank, 3621 South State street. "Decent, law abiding colored voters, I believe, are going to join those in other parts of the city next Tuesday in driving out the political element that has fostered crime and violence, particularly in our district."

The other leaders, echoing Mr. Overton's appeal, were Attorney S. A. T. Watkins, 3736 South Park way, and the Rev. L. K. Williams, pastor of the Olivet Baptist church, 31st street and South Park way, and president of the Negro National Baptist convention.

At the April, 1927, primary, the Second, Third, and Fourth wards gave Mayor Thompson a 50,000 majority. It is well known, however, that the colored voters, this fall, are at odds among themselves. Thousands will vote for Al Smith because of alleged Ku Klux Klan support for Hoover. Others, incensed by the Granady killing, will oppose all candidates aligned with Eller. There also is a distinct movement against Oscar DePriest and other colored Thompson henchmen connected with the uncovering of vice and gambling conditions on the near south side.

Leader Expects Surprises.

"There will be a lot of surprises when the black belt vote is counted Tuesday night," Mr. Overton predicted. "Swanson will get at least an even break, Weideling will run well for sheriff, and Harrison should show DePriest the fight of his life for congress."

As proof of his belief that the law enforcement candidates will cut heavily into the colored vote, Mr. Overton stated that Negro business men have contributed $1,500 to Swanson's campaign fund. He cited the contributions as significant in that white politicians ordinarily distribute money freely in the black belt but collect none.

"Decent Negro citizens have had enough of Croweism and Ellerism," said Attorney Watkins. "We are urging them to throw their full support to Swanson, who represents a cleanup of the evil forces that have ridden their part of the city so viciously during the last two or three years. Some of those who are informed will vote for Eller's Democratic opponents and very few will put a cross before his name although they vote the rest of the Republican ticket. They won't forget Granady."

Stress Need for Cleanup.

The Rev. Mr. Williams and Mr. Overton stressed the need for a cleanup of vice and gambling, rampant in the black belt under Oscar De Priest and Dan Jackson.

"Policy men and street walkers have become so bold down here that they invade our best homes and neighborhoods," said Overton. "The gambling evils shows up every day in the banking business. Hard working wage earners draw out their savings accounts, drop their life insurance, and neglect their families so they can throw their money away on policy tickets. Protected prostitution is worse than it ever has been. But what can we expect when we permit ourselves to be dictated to by the gang which furnishes the protection?

"I have faith in the big majority of Negro citizens. They have begun to see for themselves the price of blind factionalism. I say again next Tuesday will furnish some big surprises."

In addition to boosting Swanson for state's attorney, the Overton-Watkins-Williams independent group is supporting George Weideling for sheriff and Howard Elmore for sanitary district trustee.

BROOKLYN TIMES

OCT 28 1928

COLORED VOTE MAY CONTROL ELECTION

Normally Republican, It Is Affected This Year by Klan and Wet Issues.

By MYRON H. BENT

Washington, Oct. 27.—One of the oddest aspects of a campaign full of strange complexion is the colored vote.

For 60 years, ever since the passage of the 15th Amendment, this vote has been considered the private possession of the Republican party. Until within a few years past, no Democrat had the temerity to cast longing glances at it. But indications are that a considerable slice of the colored vote in several States will go to the Democratic candidate this year, a condition which is a matter of much concern at Republican headquarters.

The colored vote is such a factor in many States that it might not only decide the election in those States, but the Presidency itself. There are 125,000 colored voters in New York, 50,000 in New Jersey, 10,000 in Connecticut, 60,000 in Maryland, 100,000 in Illinois, 50,000 in Indiana, 60,000 in Ohio and 100,000 in Pennsylvania.

Instead of "as goes Maine so goes the Union," it might be said, "as goes the colored vote so goes the election." The Democrats are courting this vote, particularly in New York, Illinois and Pennsylvania, all debatable territory, where a solid negro vote might easily swing the election.

The cause of the disaffection of Republican negroes is explained by some on the ground that the negro is usually a "wet" and is also attracted sympathetically to Smith on account of the Klan issue.

It would indeed be a strange result if the Republicans should break into the Solid South and then lose the election by the loss of Northern States on account of disaffection of colored voters. But observers feel there is nothing that may not happen in this election.

TRIBUNE
CHICAGO, ILL.

DEC 31 1928

REAPPORTIONING BILL DEBATE TO BARE INEQUITIES

Ten Million Without Representation.

BY ARTHUR SEARS HENNING.
[Chicago Tribune Press Service.]

Washington, D. C., Dec. 30.—[Special.]—Glaring inequalities in the representation of the states in congress and in the electoral college will be exposed in the debate on the reapportionment bill which is scheduled for consideration in the house on Jan. 8.

It will be disclosed that 27,000,000 out of the 37,000,000 voters in the last presidential election are represented in the house and in the electoral college by 67 fewer votes than they would have if apportionment were based on the popular vote instead of population. Four million voters are

basis if the fourteenth amendment were enforced would appear to be safely conservative.

One Voter Balances 12.

Under the present apportionment a congressman from Illinois represents 115,055 voters, while a congressman from South Carolina represents only 9,800 voters. It takes 12 voters in Illinois to wield as much power in the government as one voter in South Carolina.

Representative Charles E. Winter [Rep., Wyo.] has proposed a constitutional amendment to change apportionment from the population to a popular vote basis. He says such a change would operate to increase the popular vote in order to increase representation, and therefore would tend to check disfranchisement such as that of the Negro in the south.

It wolud solve the problem of enforcing the fourteenth amendment the difficulty with which, Mr. Winter points out, has been "the practical impossibility of ascertaining the number so disfranchised. It is apparent that the tendency of my resolution would be to liberalize the qualifications of electors, and thus modify the disfranchisement existing in the southern states."

Would Exclude Aliens.

Representative Homer Hoch [Rep. Kas.] proposes a constitutional amendment to exclude aliens from the population basis of representation in congress, as New York does in representation in its legislature. This would operate to reduce the representation of many large cities.

New York would lose 4 representatives if aliens were excluded from the population basis, an indication of the extent of the alien population in New York City. But Illinois would not lose any congressmen, an indication that there are comparatively few unnaturalized aliens in Chicago. Massachusetts would lose 2 and Missouri and Pennsylvania 1 each.

Represented by 67 more votes in congress and the electoral college than they would be entitled to on a popular vote basis of apportionment.

Fought by the Drys.

Facing threatened parliamentary insurrection on the part of the Michigan, California, Ohio and other delegations which are now grossly underrepresented, the house leaders have promised immediate action on an apportionment measure. They have done so despite the opposition of states which will lose members under a new allotment and of the ruralites and the drys who up to date have successfully thwarted reapportionment on the basis of the 1920 census because it would increase the representation of the wet cities to the extent of 50 members or more.

Representative Clarence J. McLeod [Rep., Mich.], has organized a formidable bloc which threatens to throw a monkey wrench into the parliamentary machinery and block all legislation for the remainder of the session unless an opportunity is given for the passage of the reapportionment bill.

Keep Membership at 435.

The measure which is to be reported from the census committee as soon as congress reassembles this week provides for the retention of a house of 435 members. No attempt will be made to reapportion on the basis of the 1920 census because of the imminence of the 1930 census. The constitution directs reapportionment on the basis of each decennial census.

The failure to comply with the organic law bears mute testimony to the degree of respect therefor on the part of the prohibitionists who are so outraged by the disrespect for the eighteenth amendment on the part of the wet scofflaws.

The bill will provide for automatic reapportionment by the secretary of commerce in the event that the house fails to reallot representatives immediately following the 1930 census.

Gross Inequalities Shown.

The gross inequalities in representation now prevailing on the population basis as a result of the failure to reapportion since 1910 are indicated by the fact that there are 13,000,000 people who are without representation. Eleven states have 23 fewer and seventeen states 23 more congressmen than they are entitled to on the population basis, which the constitution makes the basis of apportionment.

On the 1930 population estimates California, under the terms of the forthcoming bill, would gain six representatives and six votes in the electoral college, Michigan 4, Ohio 3, New Jersey and Texas 2 each, and Arizona, Connecticut, Florida, North Carolina Washington and Oklahoma 1 each. Missouri would lose 3, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky and Mississippi 2 each, and Alabama, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Nebraska, New York, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Vermont and Virginia 1 each.

May Bring Up Negro Question.

The question of Negro disfranchisement will be injected into the debate if Representative George H. Tinkham [Rep., Mass.], presses his demand for enforcement of the fourteenth amendment providing for reduction of the representation of states in the proportion that they deny the right to vote except for crime and treason.

It is estimated that if the fourteenth amendment were enforced the southern states, which have disfranchised the Negro, would lose 33 out of their 104 congressmen and thereby 33 of their 126 electoral votes. Those 33 electoral votes to which the south is not entitled would easily determine the result of a close presidential election. Indeed, the defeat of Hughes by Wilson in 1916 was due to the fact that the south cast 33 more electors votes than it would have had were the fourteenth amendment enforced.

The inequalities of representation are much greater if considered from the standpoint of the popular votes cast in a presidential election. If apportionment were on a popular vote instead of a population basis, 13 states —12 of them in the south—would lose 57 congressmen and 67 electoral votes, while 19 states would gain 67.

Texas would lose 10, Georgia 9, Virginia 8, Alabama 7, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Tennessee 6 each, Arkansas and Louisiana 5 each, North Carolina 2, and Florida, Maine, and Oklahoma 1 each. California and Illinois would gain 10 each, New York 9 Ohio 8, New Jersey 6, Indiana 4 Massachusetts and Michigan 3 each, Connecticut, Missouri, and West Virginia 2 each, and Arizona, Colorado, Iowa, Minnesota, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Washington, and Wisconsin 1 each.

Now that the returns from the November presidential election are officially complete, it is possible to calculate accurately the disparity between apportionment on the present population basis and apportionment on a popular vote basis.

What Table Shows.

The following table shows the number of representatives each state now has on the population basis and how many each would be entitled to if they were allotted in proportion to the number of voters:

State.	Population basis.	Vote basis.	State.	Population basis.	Vote basis.
Alabama	10	3	Nebraska	6	6
Arizona	1	2	Nevada	1	1
Arkansas	7	2	N. Hampshire	2	2
California	11	21	New Jersey	12	18
Colorado	4	5	New Mexico	1	1
Connecticut	5	7	New York	43	52
Delaware	1	1	N. Carolina	10	8
Florida	4	3	N. Dakota	3	3
Georgia	12	3	Ohio	22	30
Idaho	2	2	Oklahoma	8	7
Illinois	27	37	Oregon	3	4
Indiana	13	17	Pennsylvania	36	37
Iowa	11	12	Rhode Island	3	3
Kansas	8	8	S. Carolina	7	1
Kentucky	11	11	S. Dakota	3	3
Louisiana	8	3	Tennessee	10	4
Maine	4	3	Texas	18	8
Maryland	6	6	Utah	2	2
Mas'chusetts	16	19	Vermont	2	2
Michigan	13	16	Virginia	10	2
Minnesota	10	11	Washington	5	6
Mississippi	8	2	W. Virginia	6	8
Missouri	16	18	Wisconsin	11	12
Montana	2	2	Wyoming	1	1

This comparison graphically reveals the south as a region of pocket boroughs. It illuminates the whole subject of Negro disfranchisement. If the popular vote were the basis of representation the south would lose 66 congressmen and 66 electoral votes. In the light of that disclosure the estimate that the south would lose 33 members on the present population

TIMES
HARTFORD, CONN.
OCT 1 1928

CHICAGO NEGRO VOTE INVOLVED

Reported Indictment of DePriest Worries Politicians.

BY OWEN L. SCOTT.
(Special Correspondent of The Times.)
(Copyright, 1928, by the Consolidated Press Association.)

Chicago, Oct. 1.—The reported indictment for conspiracy of two of the leading Negro political leaders in the middle west—one of them likely to be elected to congress in November—is giving politicians here something more to worry about.

These two are reported to be charged with levying tribute, estimated as high as $1,000,000, on gamblers and vice resort proprietors in the Chicago black belt. Oscar De Priest, republican nominee for congress in the First Illinois district, is the outstanding leader named. He is expected to be elected to the house of representatives as the first Negro to sit there since reconstruction days.

Dan Jackson, the other leader to receive the attention of the grand jury has within the past six weeks been appointed to the Illinois commerce commission by Governor Small.

De Priest has long been a factor in local Negro political affairs and his power is enhanced by the fact that the colored vote is often a deciding factor in Chicago elections.

The Negro vote of around 80,000 is usually cast pretty much as a unit in Chicago and politicians concerned by the trend of sentiment here are wondering what effect these indictments will have on the two men credited with having a control over this block of ballots.

Redistricting Imperils Negro

Chicago, Dec. 28 (ANP)—Since 1901 there has been no congressional reapportionment in Illinois. Because of that and because of the growth of the population of the state of Ill. has two congressmen-at-large, twenty including those elected from the regular districts.

But the disparities in the number of voters in districts that have come with the growth of population have finally become so great that there are some congressmen representing nearly ten times as many voters as others.

Cook County, in which Chicago is located, has ten districts and ten congressmen. Five of these districts have 266,703 voters and five congressmen. The other five districts have 1,260,268 voters and only five congressmen.

According to the vote cast for governor at the November election the First district from which Oscar DePriest has been elected, is the third smallest in the state, having only 20,906 voters. Congressman Michaelson's district, the seventh, cast 316,512 votes.

Although several of the representatives have indicated that they plan to put through a reappointionment measure at the coming session of the general assembly, colored politicians are not looking forward to it withuot some misgivings. There are of course enough Negro voters in Chicago to elect a congressmanon any numerical basis if the redistricting were made favorable to them. But they are suspicious that any general redistricting will result in a gerrymander that will so cut up the Negro vote that it will not be big enough in any district to be decisive. In that case, the re-election of Mr. DePriest or of any other Negro would be improbable.

Indiana.

Political - 1928

Suffrage

Negro Election Clerk Causes Disturbance At Indianapolis, Ind.

Indianapolis, Ind., November 6.—(AP)—Alleged "strong arm" tactics of Dr. H. R. Thompson, colored republican clerk, to force other negroes to vote as he directed caused a disturbance in Evansville. Election commissioners said they caught Thompson in the act of voting a negro. They instructed the democratic precinct board members not to sign the precinct credentials when the vote is complete.

No other disturbance was reported in Indiana.

Reports from all parts of the state at noon were that a record-breaking vote was being cast.

Suffrage

Negro Faction of G. O. P. in La. Hold Primary

NEW ORLEANS, La., Feb. 1—(ANP)—Despite the efforts of the lily-whites, banded with others who are seeking to destroy the power of Walter Cohen in the G. O. P. of Louisiana, the Negro faction of the party held its primary here Tuesday which resulted in an overwhelming victory for Mr. Cohen.

When the date of the primary was announced the state refused to furnish polling booths and declared that the primary was illegal. Mr. Cohen sought the advice of State Committee Chairman Higgins who placed his stamp of approval upon the primary. The whites were invited to take part in the primary and some did. The vote was white men, 859, white women, 190, and that of the Negro vote was 1,837 men and 278 women.

Several Factions

The G. O. P. in the State of Louisiana might be said to be divided into three factions, namely the Cohen faction, the Kuntz faction, composed of officeholders, and the Hamilton and Pelican clubs which are composed of the lily whites and a few dissatisfied democrats.

At Tuesday's primary, Cohen was elected delegate to the national convention, and Emil Kuntz was again elected national committeeman.

TIMES-PICAYUNE
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

MAR 25 1928

97,713 QUALIFIED TO VOTE IN STATE ELECTION APRIL 17

City Registration Shows 94,389 Democrats, Barnes Reports

A total of 97,713 men and women are eligible to vote in the general state election April 17, according to figures made public Saturday by C. S. Barnes, registrar of voters.

Of the total, 94,389 white persons are registered as Deomcrats; 2924 are Republicans, and 381 are independents or individuals who have stated no party affiliation. Not a Socialist is registered as such.

The total registration is made up of 69,053 men and 28,660 women.

The Republican registration is split between 1217 whites and 1707 negroes, the negroes thus outnumbering the whites by approximately 500.

Nineteen negroes are registered as Democrats—eighteen men and one woman.

The Seventh Ward has the largest number of registered Republicans with a total of 514 of which 453 are negroes. The Fourteenth Ward has the greatest number of white Republicans, 142. There are twenty-two negro Republicans registered from this ward.

FEW FOREIGN BORN

The First Ward with twenty-six and the Second Ward with eighty have the smallest Republican registrations among the wards.

Of the total registration, Mr. Barnes tabulations show, only 4344 are foreign born and only 187 of the total registered were unable to write.

The Ninth Ward boasts the largest number of Democratic registrants, forging ahead of both the Fourteenth and the Third. The Ninth has a Democratic registration of 8722 of which 6561 are men and 2161 women; the Fourteenth Ward has a total of 8638 of which 5779 are men and 2859 are women, and the Third Ward has a total registration of 8321 of which 5834 are men and 2487 are women.

REGISTRATION BY WARDS

The net white Democratic registration by wards follows:

Ward	Men	Women	Total
First	1965	1086	3051
Second	1789	902	2691
Third	5834	2487	8321
Fourth	3462	1501	4963
Fifth	4414	1499	5913
Sixth	2430	954	3384
Seventh	5309	1685	6994
Eighth	4911	1785	6696
Ninth	6561	2161	8722
Tenth	3140	1659	4799
Eleventh	3580	1660	5240
Twelfth	4702	2282	6984
Thirteenth	4178	1907	6085
Fourteenth	5779	2859	8638
Fifteenth	2879	1278	4157
Sxiteenth	2218	1116	3334
Teventeenth	3177	1240	4417
Total 66,328		28,061	94,389

VOTERS MAKE LAST STAND IN LOUISIANA

Fighting for Place in Republican Party

New Orleans, La.—The black voter of Louisiana is making his last stand before a wave of Republican regeneration sweeping the South in the Whether the spirit of believing a walk of the presidential election, state [illegible] Allen of the New York Herald-Tribune, sent to report on the political situation in various states. Republicans of the state which gave the biggest Democratic plurality insist they can never break the Democratic grip unless relieved of the handicap of this [illegible] out of the country councils are pushing hard for the psychological effect of having Walter L. Cohen, the outstanding officeholder of the South, dropped from the federal roster."

It is part of an "experiment," eagerly watched locally, which incidentally will come pretty close to showing whether the Republican national leadership, in view of the opportunity to eradicate sectionalism, promote independent political action and perpetuate the split in the old "Solid South," will sanction a color line in the southern Republican party.

ONLY TWO VOTERS LEFT ON STATE COMMITTEE

After years of effort, discouraged by the national leadership's fear of adverse consequences in close northern states, the Republican state organization has succeeded, with the labored accretion of "respectable" white support and the aid of extremely restrictive state election laws, in outvoting and outmaneuvering the black voters, left on the party doorstep by the Civil war and Democratic exclusion.

With only two black representatives left in its membership of 104 the Republican state committee has relived Mr. Cohen of the committee secretaryship and recommended his displacemnt as comptroller by J. C Suarez, a white man. The treasury department has referred the recommendation to President Coolidge. It is thought likely that the president as a courtesy to his successor, will pass it on to the next administration.

If the move succeeds, according to lily-white leaders, it will stimulate a slow migration of substantial white citizens from the Democratic to the Republican registration lists and give the revitalized party the preponderance of whites in all doubtful districts to assure complete elimination of black voters from the party leadership and from its delegations to the national conventions. From then on, they think, the path will be easier, with the popular idea shattered that Republican leadership means association with these voters.

U. S. SUPREME COURT MAY DECIDE ISSUE

The Negro exclusion system, which makes Democratic party membership a prerequisite to effective participation in lical political affairs, has left only 6,500 registered Republicans out of the state's potential electorate of about 1,000,000 and 2,500 of them are black voters.

big Democratic lead, bolstered as it is by public confidence generally in the Democratic state administration and the definite establishment of that party as "lily-white," is doubted by four out of five citizens interviewed, but a great many business men have promised to switch if persuaded that Republican success will not mean Negro domination.

Cohen, perhaps the shrewdest politician in the country, shows signs of resisting the general "lily-white" movement. With the aid of national organizations, he proposes to call in question before the supreme court of the United States again the system by which the black vote has been reduced nearly to the vanishing point by registration devices and excluded from participation in local political affairs by primary restrictions. The southern voter has no opportunity he says, effectively to exercise his suffrage franchise.

BATON ROUGE, La., Oct. 18.—Gov. Long will remove from office any registrar of voters who encourages Negroes to register for participation in the coming presidential election.

"Any registrar of voters who puts Negroes on his rolls without their coming up to the strictest requirements will be removed from office, and I am the man who will put them out," stated Long.

The statement was made at a meeting of the East Baton Rouge parish Good Roads Association at which both Long and O. K. Allen, chairman of the Louisiana Highway Commission, spoke in favor of the proposed four-cent gasoline tax to be voted upon at the time of the presidential poll.

Gov. Long devoted a great portion of his address to a heated indictment of the Republican Party and its practices. The black and tan element received most of his attention and Perry Howard, Republican National Committeeman from Mississippi, and Walter Cohen, collector of customs at New Orleans, both were hit with warm invectives.

GOV. LONG WILL PUT 'EM OUT

10-19-28

Chief Executive of State Sounds Warning to Registrars Not to Put Race Men on Roll.

"Any Official Who Registers Negroes Will Lose His Job"

BATON ROUGE, La., (By Mail) —"Any registrars of voters who put Negroes on their rolls, will be removed from office, and I am the man who will put them out," stated Governor Long at a meeting of the East Baton Rouge Parish Good Roads Association. He further stated that anyone who encourages Negroes to vote will also receive the same action.

This attitude is taken throughout the south by both the democrats and the republicans. The Negroes are disfranchised all through the south and such remarks have been made by various leaders of the major parties

Louisiana Gov. Encourages Nullification Of Amendment Giving Negroes Suffrage

Associated Negro Press

BATON ROUGE, La., Oct. 17. — Gov. Long will remove from office any registrar of voters who encourages Negroes to register for participation in the coming presidential election.

"Any registrar of voters who puts Negroes on his rolls without their coming up to the strictest requirements will be removed from office, and I am the man who will put them out", stated Long.

The statement was made at a meeting of the East Baton Rouge parish Good Roads Association at which both Long and O. K. Allen chairman of the Louisiana Highway Commission, spoke in favor of the proposed four cent gasoline tax to be voted upon at the time of the presidential poll.

Gov. Long devoted a great portion of his address to a heated indictment of the Republican Party and its practices. The black and tan element in the party received most of his attention and Perry Howard, Republican National Committeeman from Mississippi, and Walter Cohen, collector of customs at New Orleans, both were hit with warm invectives.

Political - 1928

Maryland.

Suffrage

COLORED CITIZENS URGED TO REGISTER TUESDAY, OCTOBER 9

AS CITIZENS and tax payers interested in the moral, political, and economic welfare of our group in this Commonwealth, we are calling your attention to the last opportunity to get the names of our people on the registration books, unless already registered in order to enable them to cast a ballot in the approaching national and state campaign.

We feared that in the bustle of domestic and other pressing interests, it might escape your notice that the last day for such a work is Tuesday the 9th instant. It is our duty, therefore, to remind the people, especially of our group, who come within our reach and influence of this important information.

The legacy left us by our ancestors through blood and sacrifice is the FRANCHISE. This is the highest privilege of a citizen, under a republican form of government, such as ours is. The fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Federal Constitution clothe every man and woman with this sovereign right. It is a privilege under our form of government which reduces everyone to the same political level. So important a legacy therefore must be protected and preserved. No citizen, no matter what the standing may be, either by way of ancestral lineage or financial importance, when he enters the booth can deposit only one ballot for his political choice.

See to it, therefore, fellow citizens, that unless already registered you get your names on the registration books on Tuesday the 9th instant. The privilege to vote for our rulers and law officers is one of the rare qualifications of our American form of government.

Your fellow citizens,

ADVISORY COMMITTEE TO THE STATE REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE

JOSEPH P. EVANS	REV. SIMON WILLIAMSON
DR. ERNEST LYON	MRS. HOWARD YOUNG
REV. JUNIUS GRAY	REV. C. HAROLD STEPTEAU
GEORGE WADDY	WILLARD W. ALLEN

P. S.—Kindly allow this letter to be read.

3558 REGISTER HERE TUESDAY

A total of 3,558 colored persons registered in Baltimore Tuesday and 47,998 whites.

In the 17th Ward 444 colored registered. The 16th Ward had the largest number of colored to register, which was 463. The total number of colored voters in the city is 28,609.

The next and last supplementary registration will be held on October 9. Those who are not on the books by 10 p. m. of that day will not be able to vote in the Presidential election.

9-29-28

Political-1928

Massachusetts.

Suffrage

SUN
BALTIMORE, MD.

APR 23 1928

ASPIRANTS QUERIED ON NEGROES' RIGHTS

Presidential Candidates Are Asked For Views On Fourteenth Amendment.

RITCHIE AMONG THEM

Representative Tinkham, Republican, Denounces Nullification As "Dishonest."

[*Washington Bureau of The Sun.*]

Washington, April 22.—A questionnaire on Federal enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment was sent to Eleven candidates for the Presidency today by Representative Tinkham, Republican, Massachusetts. Mr. Tinkham asked:

"Do you favor the enforcement of the mandatory provision contained in the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution that there shall be a reduction of representation in the House of Representatives and in the Electoral College in proportion to the disfranchisement which exists in certain States of the Union?"

Hoover Gets Query.

He sent the question to:

Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce.

Frank O. Lowden, former Governor of Illinois.

Senator Charles Curtis, of Kansas.

Senator James E. Watson, Indiana.

Senator Guy D. Goff, Wes Virginia.

Senator George W. Norris, Nebraska.

Gov. Alfred E. Smith, of New York.

Senator James A. Reed, of Missouri.

Gov. Albert C. Ritchie, Maryland.

Senator Thomas J. Walsh, Montana.

Senator Walter F. George, Georgia.

"Allow me to bring to your attention," he said, "the fact that this amendment and the Fifteenth Amendment are wholly nullified in many States of the Union and that Congress has not taken action to enforce them. This nullification results in dishonest and unconstitutional elections to Congress and taints with fraud and illegitimacy the election of a President. Unconstitutional tenure of office and illegal elections strike at the very heart of the moral sanction behind laws and executive acts.

Nullification Assailed.

"More than this, the nullification of these amendments gives unequal political power to the disfranchising States, which count all citizens for purposes of representation and then disfranchise many of them. This impairs the political rights of every other State and of every voter in every other State. The issue in all its nakedness is whether there shall be constitutional government in the United States and enforcement of constitutional provisions, and whether the Government as it now exists shall be a legitimate and honest one."

Massachusetts.

Political—1928

Suffrage

Prizes for Essays On Why Negroes Should Register

Boston, Mass., Oct. 3—Mrs. Alice Dunbar Nelson, secretary of the Interracial Peace Movement, Prof. Kelly Miller of Howard University, Carl Murphy, editor of Baltimore Afro-American, Baltimore; A. Washington Rhodes, editor of the Philadelphia Tribune, and others are among the judges of the best essays to be sent in each week and received up to October 24, at 9 Cornhill, Boston, Mass., the national headquarters of the National Equal Rights League and Race Congress, on "Why Colored Americans Should Be Registered and Vote in the Presidential Election." It is called the "National Emancipation, Shaw Memorial Race Vote Essay Contest," in commemoration of the 66th anniversary of the issuance of Emancipation and 5th anniversary of death of Rev. M. A. N. Shaw, late devoted president of the league.

350 words is the maximum. The judges will select the best 3 of each batch received at 9 Cornhill by Thursday of each week for honorable mention and for the broadcasting in the race press the following week, in order to stimulate interest in voting meanwhile. A slight graduated premium is given weekly selections in the finals selected from the weekly selections according to early submission.

The judges will sit week-ends at Baltimore or Washington. Quick and general competing is solicited. The awards will be made November 3 Rev. Geo. Frazier Miller of Brooklyn is president of the League and Wm Monroe Trotter of Boston, secretary and director of the contest.

Political - 1928

Mississippi.

Suffrage

Perry Howard Wins In Supreme Court Against Lilywhites

(*By Telegraph To The Age*)

Jackson, Miss.—The Supreme Court of Mississippi has destroyed the last resort of the State's lily-white Republicans, who attempted to oust the regular Republican organization headed by National Committeeman Perry W. Howard.

The "lilies," unable to control the state committee meetings of the party, sought to handcuff the regulars with court orders, and got a permanent injunction to do so from Chancellor Sigg at Hattiesburg last March.

The Howard forces appealed to the State Supreme Court before which the appeal was argued April 23. The Supreme Court reversed the lower court's decision, dissolved the injunction and remanded the case for the taking of testimony in order to assess costs of the proceedings against the defendant lily-whites, whose rout is now so complete that it is hardly likely that they will have the temerity to make a contest at the Republican National Convention in Kansas City next month.

1,000 Majority, But 100 Vote Says Mississippi Physician

Delegate To National Medical Association Says "Constitutional Test" Is Effective Means Of Disfranchise In Natchez

Down in Natchez, Miss., there are 1,000 more colored than white population, but less than 100 vote in the elections, according to Dr. T. B. Coleman of that town, and who attended the National Medical Association here last week.

Politically, we do not amount to much down there, said Dr. Coleman. Even the 100 who are qualified voters do not always vote. The Republicans are very few, and when there are factions among the Democrats, our voters would rather play safe by not voting than take chances on voting against a possible winner.

"Our people are disqualified," Dr. Coleman concluded, "largely through the use of the constitutional test, in which a would-be voter is called upon to read and interpret a clause in the Constitution. The judges do not apply this strictly to white voters."

"Natchez has a population of about 7,000 white and and 8,000 colored, and we have three doctors, three dentists and three pharmacists.

Refuse Race Patients

"No," he replied, in answer to a question, "the white professional men do not welcome our trade. In most cases they refuse to treat us, altho there is one white dentist whose practice is nearly all with our group.

"On the other hand our medical doctors have a little office practice with the other race, but they do not visit their homes. Dr. A. W. Dumas has an infirmary of 25 beds."

Dr. Coleman then recalled an incident in the town of Brookhaven, near Natchez. A child (white) had swallowed a marble, and all the doctors in the town, except one, had been called into consultation.

Although none of than could do anything effetcive strenuous objection was raised to calling in a race physician.

The parents, however, in desperation, decided to call Dr. Connor. When he arrived the other physicians had left. After an examination, Dr. Connor raised the child by the heels, jerked it violently once or twice, and out dropped the marble.

"Natchez," said Dr. Coleman, "has three hospitals. One of them is a city institution, two are private. The city hospital has a well appointed ward for our cases, while accident cases are accepted readily in any of the institutions.

"When our state meetings are held," the dentist continued, "our physicians are welcomed to the hospitals to observe cases, and whenever a local doctor has a patient in the hospital, he is invited in to observe him."

Valdosta, Ga., Times
Friday, July 27, 1928

SOUTHERN NEGRO'S OPPORTUNITY.

The significant story is told of a Mississippi negro who, after passing the literacy test for voting, was asked by the examiners: "What does eeny meeny miny mo mean?" Promptly the answer came: "It means that you gentlemen don't want to let me register." This is an interesting reminder that since the methods of greatly cutting down the negro vote were invented a new generation of negroes has come upon the scene, vast numbers of whom are sufficiently educated to pass the literacy ballot-test.

As long as the whites remain united as well as determined, presumably the status quo can be maintained. But let the whites be divided into two bitterly opposed parties, each seeing need of the negro's help, such help can be readily secured under the existing legal provisions, and the negro's opportunity to become the balance of political power in the South will have arrived. For South Carolina and Mississippi contain more negroes than whites, and some of the other Southern states, such as Georgia, contain nearly as many.

If the Bishop Cannon (dry) defection is really determined on successful revolt, opportunity is within its reach. But what it will have to consider is whether it values the supposed interests of prohibition above the long recognized need of white political supremacy in the South—whether, in order to gain its immediate ends, it is willing to put the negroes in the road toward the balance of political power in the Southern states. From the Southern point of view the question confronting the Cannon element is one of supreme gravity.

Political - 1928

Suffrage

NEW YORK WORLD

JUN 10 1928

NEGROES HITCH DRY IDEA TO SUFFRAGE

Insist Plank Include 14th and 15th Amendments

LIVELY FIGHT IS BREWING

Move Causes Uneasiness in Hoover Camp

By H. E. C. Bryant
Staff Correspondent of The World

KANSAS CITY, Mo., June 9—"If the Republican Party writes into its platform a declaration for enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment, it must include the Fourteenth and the Fifteenth Amendments," is the slogan of Negro leaders here to-day.

The report that Senator Borah is on his way here with a plank naming the Prohibition Amendment specifically has aroused Southern G. O. P. leaders and wet members of Congress.

S. D. Redmond, Negro delegate, who has been selected for the Mississippi member of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions, said he would insist on pledging the Republicans to a more vigorous enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

"Why should there be any discrimination?" said he. "It is well known to Senator Borah and other prominent party men that these are being ignored. Every Negro delegate here should resent any plan to favor the Eighteenth over the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

Negroes Demand "Justice"

Thoroughly aroused over this matter, Negro delegates were busy to-day calling on their white friends from other States, urging them to stand by them in their efforts to get justice.

"Negro leaders in attendance at the convention," said a statement issued by Redmond of Mississippi; Robert R. Church, Tennessee; John T. Risher, District of Columbia; Ben J. Davis, Georgia; Walter L. Cohen, Louisiana, and Roscoe Simmons and Oscar Depriest, Illinois, "are planning to make a determined fight to have a plank inserted in the platform committing the party to the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. They feel the amendments involving their suffrage rights are as sacred as the Eighteenth Amendment. The Negro voters throughout States where they exercise considerable influence have always looked with some degree of apprehension on the expenditure of millions of dollars by the Federal Government to enforce the Prohibition amendment while it has refused to give aid to the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth.

Howard to Champion Plea

Perry W. Howard, Republican National Committeeman from Mississippi, and Special Assistant to the Attorney General of the United States, will argue for inclusion of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

"That proposal of Senator Borah," said he, "is very vital to the South. I am not opposed to the enforcement of the Prohibition Amendment, but I cannot see the difference. The Fourteenth Amendment provides for the expenditure of money for its enforcement. Why not include it and the Fifteenth and pledge the sum of $20,000,000 for their enforcement?"

A lively controversy is brewing over this question. Dr. E. C. Dinwiddie, speaking for thirty-five temperance associations, said to-day his organizations are ready to support the Borah plank. They demand an enforcement plank with real teeth in it.

On this subject the Negro leaders here are united. They are divided on candidates, but they want the same sort of platform touching racial relations.

Lowden Workers Busy

While Secretary Hoover has the support of a majority of the Negro delegates seated, Mr. Lowden is said to have the greater number of colored workers. Lowden headquarters was the scene of great activity on the part of Negroes who have been for him for President since 1920. There is some uneasiness in the Hoover camp lest the Negroes fail to stick in a crucial moment.

The protest against the ousting of a large number of Southern Negroes by the National Committee early this week is growing louder and wider spread. It was decided to-day to take a large number of cases to the Committee on Credentials. Cohen of Louisiana claims the entire delegation should be against Hoover. Ten of his delegates, he adds, were refused seats.

The anti-Hoover group assert the Florida delegation also should be anti-Hoover, but if the Credentials Committee does not come to the rescue all will go for Hoover.

Friends of Howard of Mississippi demand reconsideration of the delegation from his State. They declare the twelve Hoover delegates should be turned out.

Missouri.

GET OUT THE VOTE.

The biggest service anyone can do the Negro in Kansas City is to "get out the vote." The self-disfranchisement we practice, is just so much advantage thrown away. We have men and women among us who busy themselves for church, for lodge, for uplift, and for social pleasures. These all have their usefulness. But underlying all is citizenship, and it is citizenship's need which is the call for somebody to "get out the vote."

Political organizations through their workers get out some of the vote, but what they reach is the smaller part, each confining itself to those whom it thinks will be its supporters. The great mass of Negroes do not vote. They are a dead weight on the minority who exercise the right of franchise.

To vote, one must first register. Registration is Thursday of next week, June 21. That is more than ten days away. If the whole Negro vote, all the adults in our 36,000 population, were to register, we would be in a position in the August primaries to exert pressure on candidates which would force fairness where we now get indifference or enmity. "Thrice armed is he who has his quarrel just," runs the saying. "But four times he who gets his lick in fust," says experience. There is a mighty argument in power, one that every beholder understands. Twenty thousand Negroes registered and voting need no mass meeting, no protests, no suits to get their rights. What they want will be theirs freely tendered as the price of their support.

But what's the use of talking about the ideals in political action? Votes on paper are worthless. The good man and the good woman, who remain at home scorning to vote, are of less value to the Negro group in getting favorable treatment than the voter who sells his vote for a dollar. The paid-for voter at least is counted in plans of political leaders, but the stay-at-homes are passed without notice. The job is to put life into these dead members of our group, to get them registered so that they can vote. No use denouncing them as aids and abettors of the Southerners who disfranchise the race. If they realized the enormity of their offense against their people, they would act of themselves. Somebody must go get them and turn them around.

Volunteers to get out the vote, to get the whole race registered next Thursday is the biggest need of our group in Kansas City. A hundred devoted race men and women, each taking a block and pleading with the non-voters, taking them to the places of registration, will be the greatest contributors to the race's advancement. Why not undertake this work in your own block? There is time. Begin with your neighbor, and go around the square. Big speeches and boasts of race pride are less than quiet work to convert the self-disfranchised Negro into a full citizen, voting to help himself and his people.

GLOBE-DEMOCRAT
ST. LOUIS, MO.

OCT 28 1928

D[illegible]E ON 'HOW SHALL NEGRO VOTE

A political debate on, "How Shall the Negro Vote?" will be held at 7:30 o'clock tomorrow night in the auditorium of the Vashon High School, under the auspices of the Tom Powell Post of the American Legion. The Republican side will be represented by William Pickens of New York, field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The Democrats will be represented by Julian D. Rainey of New York, president of the National Colored Smith-for-President League. Frank R. Crosswith, Negro Socialist candidate for Congress from the Harlem district of New York, will represent the Socialists.

SPRINGFIELD, MO

OCT 25 1928

1200 NEGROES REGISTER FOR NOVEMBER ELECTION

The registration of Negro voters in Springfield was the largest in the history of the city, according to reports made at a meeting of the Hoover-Curtis club, colored division, at the court house Tuesday night. The number was estimated at approximately 1200.

B. F. Adams, state organizer for the colored division clubs, delivered an address in which he declared that the spirt which now attempts to repeal the 18th amendment would also try to remove the 13th, 14th, and 15th as well.

The executive committee of the club will hold a meeting Friday night at headquarters at 325½ Boonville avenue to formulate plans to get out a large vote.

TO VOTE, FIRST REGISTER

—o—

The old list is done away with and a new registration is to be used in this fall's election. To give all the voters time to get their names on the books, precinct registration will go on for four days, beginning next Monday, September 24 and continuing the 25, 26 and 27. Every facility will be given the citizens to register, but if they fail, they lose their ballot.

This is a new situation for the steady voter. Hitherto once is al that he has had to think of voting and that was on election day. Now h must think twice, at election and nex week. Registration is not a difficul task, though it is absolutely essentia to voting. The voter has only to pre sent himself to the election officials a set of whom will be in each pre cinct, and there make answer to the questions they ask. No cost, little trouble, little time and the right to vote is worth the effort required to register.

In the past a number of misapprehensions have frightened away some who are qualified to vote. Under Missouri law, no poll tax, no property tax, no military service, no requirement whatever except going to the election officials in the precinct, and that means going not over three or four blocks. Negroes have not been casting their full vote. Many have allowed one reason and another to keep them away from the polls. The women especially have neglected this duty and privilege of a citizen. The result is we are treated with little concern by political managers, just as we deserve to be. We can correct this by going any of the four days of next week and registering. Not only should we go, but we should canvass our neighborhood and friends to see that for once the Negroes are ready to cast a full vote.

EVERYONE MUST REGISTER ANEW

September 24, 25, 26, 27 Are Registration Dates

Registration days are September 24, 25, 26 and 27. Places to register will be available in each of the 433 precincts of the city.

Every person qualified to vote and who expects to do so in the presidential, state and county election in November, must register on one of the four days, September 24, 25, 26 and 27. Old registration lists, no matter how recent, will be thrown away. Any persons who will be 21 on or before election day and is otherwise qualified, may register and vote in Kansas City.

A person must be a citizen, 21 years old, on or before November 6, date of election.

Voters must have resided in the state one year and in the city sixty days by November 6.

Voters must not have been convicted of perjury, bribery or other crime connected with the exercise of suffrage.

This week will bring the registration activities into full swing in both party camps. The republican machinery is virtually set up now while the democrats have a standing organization which can be thrown into action on short notice.

The big vote expected in Kansas City and Jackson county in November is admittedly vital not only for the county tickets of the two parties, but will have a big, if not deciding effect on the state tickets, and may prove a factor in results nationally. It is estimated close to 200,000 voters will be registered here in the four days starting next Monday.

Voters accustomed to the conditions which prevail in the south will find them very different in Missouri. In this state there is no poll tax to be paid as a qualification for registering and voting. Persons who register and vote, are not taxed in any way because their names are on the election record books.

Each person goes to the precinct polling place, and there tells the facts which identifies him or her and that is all. Women are given the privilege of concealing their age, except they must be "over 21 years." It is not necessary for the citizen to be accompanied. He can go alone, if he wishes, or can go with an election worker. The person registering does not give his party. At election time is the only time when the matter of party cuts any figure, and at that time the voter can make his own choice without informing election officials or anybody else.

New Jersey

Political - 1928

Suffrage

NEWARK, N. J.

Star

MAY 7 1928

NEGRO VOTE LEADERSHIP

To the Editor of the Star-Eagle:

Sir—With the coming of the primary election this month and the subsequent general election in November, revival of political controversy between the many self-styled leaders of the Negro race is becoming more and more apparent. These self-styled race patriots—who are in reality political parasites fully aware of the graft and remuneration they could command from ambitious office seekers for the support of the colored vote (which is generally conceded to be the balance of power in the County of Essex)—are not only desperate in their struggles to be identified as the leader of this or that particular group or ward, but have resorted to the most conniving and unscrupulous methods in order to "make evident" the "leadership" to which they aspire.

This condition has created a rather deplorable state of affairs for race voters in the County of Essex. The merited representation of the Negro race in New Jersey hangs on that hour when some lazy politician, who seldom or never has any legitimate means of making a livelihood, shall, for a comparatively small pittance, auction to the highest bidder (regardless of party affiliations) the vote of the Negro race.

A great deal of the responsibility for this condition can be traced directly or indirectly either to the aspirants for office or their campaign managers.

Their lack of knowledge of the fact that the voting type of Negro can not be decoyed into supporting a candidate whose ability, record and adaptability do not merit his support makes the operations of these politicians more effective.

Any politician in Essex County has but to canvass the hang-outs which prevail in the underworld section of the city; collect a couple hundred simple-minded and non-voting Negroes who are dazzled by high-sounding phrases, pack them into a comparatively small hall and invite the candidate or his henchman to review his large following.

He is straightway accorded recognition as a political leader and a valuable asset to the aspirations of the candidate. The result is that the candidate is hoodwinked. He pays for that which he does not receive.

If he is elected he assumes the attitude that the Negro vote has been bought and paid for.

Whatever the result, the Negro race is the greatest sufferer, the politician the greatest gainer, and the candidate assumes the greatest loss.

Negro voters in Essex County are well aware of the power of their vote and will not only refuse to be needlessly misled but will turn their weapons (votes) against the very men who are supposed to have bought and paid for them.

Only those candidates who shall, by actual performance, show a willingness to give to the Negro equality in government and proper representation through the medium of the press before the bar of public opinion, are worthy of the Negro's support.

Candidates, you can not buy the Negro vote, but you can merit it only by being serviceable to the Negro and his cause.

Negro politicians, your conniving and unscrupulous political methods do more to retard the progress of your race and to diminish the quality and character of the Negro in the estimation of the press and State officials than even the most criminal offense committed by half-witted, degenerate and partially-demented Negroes, victims of circumstances.

Leaders of your type are not wanted in Essex, for though you be Negroes, there is no place among Negroes for you; for of all the scum with which this world is accursed the traitor is the most contemptible. Hell is too good for him.

One of the fundamental requisites of the leadership of the Negro race is the exercise of resolute self-denial, the process of enduring great hardships and going without the things one needs in the faithful execution of the duties of one's office for the benefit of the masses.

This is a quality of character which should be dominant in every aspirant to race leadership.

Although the writer does not intend to imply that every Negro leader in this county who has in the past, or does now, function as a factor in Negro politics is insincere, he does state, without fear of contradiction, that the type herein described does exist.

Negroes of Essex County, I know not what is your order of recognition. This is mine—"Humanity, Race, Party." Examine your leader carefully and if he is found wanting, regardless of party affiliations, kick him out.

Newark. EUGENE AUMAITRE.

RECORD

LONG BBANCH, N. J.

JUN 6 1928

AS TO DISFRANCHISEMENT.

Republican platform builders, those of New Jersey being no exception, delight to throw verbal rocks at the south anent the so-called disfranchisement of the negro. The south is far away and so it is a safe thing to do, and a picturesque.

But these same Republicans never insert any planks relative to the disfranchisement of all the residents of the capital of the nation, Washington, D. C. Would it not be well for them to investigate this next time they are moved disfranchisement-plankward? Or would it be too embarrassing for them to find that the Washington "crime" was committed for the express purpose of preventing negro domination of the city, members of that race having flocked to the capital in large numbers after the civil war and being in a fair way to outnumber the whites?

If our Republican friends are right in their contention that every negro in the south should be allowed to vote, why is it so wrong for them to do so in Washington as to justify the disfranchisement of the whole population of the city? If they should be allowed to dominate many parts of the south—there are places there where they outnumber the whites four or five to one—why not Washington?

Political 1928 — New York

Suffrage

BROOKLYN EAGLE

JUL 9 1928

BLACKS NOT THE ONLY VICTIMS.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, editor of the Crisis, speaking to his fellow colored men at the National Association Conference in Los Angeles, points out justly and logically that the negroes are not the only victims of the barring of black voters from the polls in the Cotton States. Not merely are the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution nullified, but also the Nineteenth giving voting rights to women. And "vitiated is the normal distribution of voting power throughout the nation."

In other words it is the white voters in California, of whom it takes 85,759 to elect a representative in Congress; the white voters of Ohio, where 91,785 are required; the white voters of Indiana, where 97,108 are needed, who are unjustly treated when South Carolina gets a Congressman for every 9,440 votes. If one vote in South Carolina is as good as ten votes in any one of these Northern States, who is really being disfranchised? Certainly not the blacks alone. In the making of national laws the cards are stacked. In the makeup of the Electoral Colleges the inequality continues. The reasoning of Dr. Du Bois is inexorable.

HERALD

Yonkers - N Y

JUL 23 1928

NEGRO SUFFRAGE IS STRESSED AS ISSUE

The enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution, which give to Negroes the rights of citizenship and suffrage, were declared yesterday to be as important as the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment by Eugene McIntosh, executive member of the Bronx Colored Voters' Democratic Progressive Association, of 860 East 165th Street, New York City. Mr. McIntosh directed this expression of his views to Bishop James Cannon Jr. of the Southern Methodist Episcopal Church and the Rev. Arthur J. Barton of Atlanta, leaders at the recent Asheville, N. C., conference of dry Southern Democrats, which declared for Herbert Hoover for President and against Governor Smith.

To Fight New Disfranchisement

N. A. A. C. P. to Tackle the Texas Plan

FOR BARRING NEGROES

From Participating in Primary Elections

New York, July 27. Immediately upon receipt of the news that Federal Judge C. C. Hutcheson, at Houston, Texas on July 24th ruled that political parties may prescribe their own membership qualifications, and that the Democratic party therefore can bar Negro voters from participation in their primaries, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People set in motion machinery upon which work was begun some months since to combat this newest attempt to debarr Negroes from these primaries.

It will be remembered that the N. A. A. C. P. won one of its most signal victories in the United States Supreme Court in March, 1927 when in the famous case of Nixon vs Herndon that court ruled unequivocally as unconstitutional a statute passed by the Texas State legislature which declared that "in no event shall a Negro be eligible to participate in a Democratic election held in the State of Texas."

As soon as the Supreme Court had thus eliminated for all time this means of disfranchisement, efforts were made by Texas Democrats to find some new means of achieving the same ends without conflict with the federal constitution. Gov. Moody of Texas declaring at that time that such a step would be taken. Shortly afterwards, the Texas legislature passed an enabling act which sought to give to the various political parties in the state the right to prescribe who should be members in such parties.

The N. A. A. C. P. began at once through its Texas Branches and Attorneys to prepare for the combatting of the new law when tests cases arose. In June the Association received clippings sent by J. R. Morris of the San Antonio Branch which contained statements by certain officials of the Democratic party that Negroes would probably be excluded from voting in the July 28th primaries. This threat was put in to effect on June 11th when a resolution barring Negroes from voting in the primaries was passed at a meeting at Waco of the Democratic State Executive committee.

Various proceedings were immediately instituted to test the validity of the action and the new law upon which it was based. Attorney R. D. Evans of Waco, president of the Independent Colored Voters League, filed an injunction to restrain officials of the Democratic party and election judges from debarring them from voting in the primaries. It was upon this case that Judge Hutcheson on July 24th upheld the Democratic officials in their action, despite the contentions of Messrs Dewalt and Grisby that they were bona fide Democrats and despite the decision of the United States supreme Court in the Nixon vs Herndon case.

In order that no stone be left unturned in making a thorough test of the new law and to prevent any loopholes through which the issue might be evaded, N. A. A. C. P. attorneys had prepared for just such a decision. C. C. Knollenberg of El Paso, attorney for Dr. Nixon in the case decided in 1927, had on July 19th arranged for Negro Democrats to present themselves at the primary polls on July 28th accompanied by reliable witnesses who would testify later to the refusal to permit the colored voters to cast their ballots. Dr. Nixon at Mr. Knollenberg's suggestion has also written to each of the thirty-three members of the Democratic State Committee requesting that the rule be changed which eliminates the Negro voter from the Democratic primary, and serving notice that in the event of their refusal legal action will be taken. Dr. Nixon has in his possession the registry return receipts signed by the committeemen. In the event of their refusal to change the rule, it is probable that each of the thirty-three men will be made a co-defendant in the later action.

A third test was that of J. G. Wimberly, an attorney of San Antonio, who filed a similar action to that of Messrs Dewalt and Grisby at Houston. Judge Duval West at San Antonio ruled against Mr. Wimberly on the same day that Judge Hutcheson decided against Messrs DeWalt and Grisby at Houston. Judge West denied a temporary restraining order which would have prevented election officials from refusing Democratic ballots to Negro voters.

The briefs and decisions in all these cases are being carefully studied by the National Legal Committee of the N. A. A. C. P. and in particular by Louis Marshall, famous constitutional lawyer and member of the N. A. A. C. P. Legal Committee and Board of Directors. Mr. Marshall, it will be recalled, prepared the brief and was largely responsible for the Supreme Court victory last year which eliminated the Texas law barring Negroes from Democratic primaries. It is Mr. Marshall's opinion that the new law is clearly in violation of the Federal constitution as was the one declared unconstitutional in 1927.

The N. A. A. C. P. is now negotiating with attorneys to handle the case to be determined upon which will cover the issues involved in all of those which have arisen, or may arise. The new attempt to evade the express commands of the 14th and 15th Amendments and the words of the Supreme Court in the Nixon case last year will be resolutely and indefatigably opposed up to and including the United States Supreme Court.

E. A. Johnson's Chances

REGISTRATION in Harlem's four assembly district shows an increase of 3,885 over the registration of 1924. The Thirteenth district showed a gain of 1,257, the Twenty-first a gain of 1,508, and the Twenty-second a gain of 1,613. The Nineteenth district showed the surprising decrease of 583. In view of the persistent agitation for Negro leadership in the Nineteenth district this loss will call for a lot of explaining. Evidently there was not one colored gentleman in the woodpile; there were hundreds of them and something made them stay in the woodpile instead of going to the registration booths. If the Nineteenth district had not lost, but had merely held its own, the total increase over 1924 would have

N. A. A. C. P. To Test Newest Texas Attempt To Disfranchise Negro

Decisions of Federal Judges Hutcheson and West of Texas, To Be Attacked In Court—Subterfuge Similar To That In Other Southern States—Plans Already In Motion To Combat Action.

New York City.—Immediately upon receipt of the news that Federal Judge J. C. Hutcheson at Houston, Texas, on July 24, had ruled that political parties may prescribe their own membership qualifications and that the Democratic party therefore can bar Negro voters from participation in their primaries, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People set in motion plans upon which work was begun some months since to combat this newest attempt to bar Negroes from these primaries.

It will be remembered that the N. A. A. C. P. won one of its most signal victories in the United States Supreme Court in March, 1927, when, in the famous case of Nixon vs Herndon, that court ruled unequivocally as unconstitutional a statute passed by the Texas state legislature which declared that "in no event shall a Negro be eligible to participate in a Democratic election held in the state of Texas."

As soon as the supreme court had thus eliminated for all time this means of disfranchisement, efforts were made by Texas Democrats to find some new means of achieving the same ends without conflict with the federal constitution. Governor Moody of Texas declaring at that time that such a step would be taken. Shortly afterwards, the Texas legislature passed an enabling act which sought to give to the various political parties in the state the right to prescribe who should be members in such parties.

The N. A. A. C. P. began at once through its Texas branches and attorneys to prepare for the combatting of the new law when test cases arose. In June the association received clippings sent by J. R. Morris of San Antonio branch, which contained statements by certain officials of the Democratic party that Negroes would probably be excluded from voting in the July 28 primaries. This threat was put into effect on June 11 when a resolution barring Negroes from voting in the primaries was pased at a meeting at Waco of the Democratic state executive committee.

Various proceedings were immediately instituted to test the validity of this action and the new law upon which it was based. Attorney R. D. Evans of Waco, president of the Independent Colored Voters League, filed on behalf of O. P. DeWalt, president of the Houston branch of the N. A. A. C. P. and J. B. Grigsby, a petition in federal court for an injunction to restrain officials on the Democratic party and election judges from debarring them from voting in the primaries. It was upon this case that Judge Hutcheson on July 24, upheld the Democratic officials in their action, despite the contentions of Messrs. DeWalt and Grigsby that they were bona fide Democrats and despite the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Nixon vs. Herndon case.

To Test Latest Ruling

In order that no stone be left unturned in making a thorough test of the new law and to prevent any loopholes through which the issue might be evaded, N. A. A. C. P. attorneys had prepared for just such a decision. F. C. Knollenberg of El Paso, attorney for Dr. Nixon in the case decided in 1927, had on July 19, arranged for Negro Democrats to present themselves at the primary polls on July 28, accompanied by reliable witnesses who would testify later to the refusal to permit the colored voters to cast their ballots. Dr. Nixon, at Mr. Knollenberg's suggestion, has also written to each of the thirty-three members of the Democratic primary, and serving notice that in state committee requesting that the rule be changed which eliminates the Negro voter from the Democratic the event of their refusal legal action will be taken. Dr. Nixon has in his possession the registry return receipts signed by the committeemen. In the event of their refusal to change the rule, it is probable that each of the thirty-three men will be made a co-defendant in the later action.

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Legal Staff Studying Case

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The N. A. A. C. P. is now negotiating with attorneys to handle the case, the decision in which will cover the issues involved in all of those which have arisen or may arise. The new attempt to evade the express commands of the 14th and 15th amendments and the words of the supreme court in the Nixon case last year, will be resolutely and indefatigably oposed up to and including the United States Supreme Court.

A favorable decision in the Texas cases will have exceedingly far-reaching effect. At the present time the N. A. A. C. P. is working not only on the Texas cases, but on others involving almost precisely the same issue in Virginia and Florida. The importance of these efforts can be seen in the editorial comment of the New York Times on the Texas case, to the effect that the "fifteenth amendment may be in for a real test in the next few years."

Political-1928

Suffrage

CASE WILL BE CARRIED UP TO SUPREME COURT

Statute Allowing Party to Choose Members Will Be Attacked

NEW YORK.—Immediately upon the receipt of the news that Federal Judge C. C. Hutcheson, at Houston, Texas, had ruled that political parties may prescribe their own membership qualifications and that the Democratic party therefore can bar Negro voters from participation in the primaries, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People set in motion plans upon which work was begun some months since to combat this newest attempt to debar Negroes from these primaries.

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PLAN TO FIGHT PRIMARY VOTE JIM CROW RULE

May Carry Case the United States Supreme Court

Instead of a Law Barring Voters from the Primaries the Democratic State Committee Enacts a Rule That No Negro Shall Vote.

NEW YORK, Aug. 29—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has retained Fred C. Knollenberg, of El Paso, Texas, the attorney who laid the groundwork for the celebrated white primary case victory before the United States Supreme Court, to fight the newest form of disfranchisement of Negroes in Texas.

When the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional the Texas law barring colored voters from the state Democratic primaries, the white people sought to accomplish the same end by a law placing in the hands of the state committees the power to determine who shall have the privilege of voting in the primaries. Thus, instead of a law barring voters from the primaries, the Democratic state committee enacted a rule that no Negro should vote.

This new dodge is being challenged by the N. A. C. P. precisely as was the White Primary Law. Dr. L. A. Nixon offered himself as a fully qualified Democratic voter and was refused a ballot. The N. A. A. C. P. has now retained Mr. Knollenberg to carry this case up to and through the United States Supreme Court, pledging itself to pay a fee of $2,500 and necessary expenses up to the sum of $1,500.

Since the White Primary decision by the Supreme Court, many southern states, prevented from barring Negroes by law, have tried the expedient of having state party committees pass rules against their voting. The Texas case, therefore, will serve as a precedent for similar situations throughout the southern states. The N. A. A. C. P. confidently expects that on the basis of the White Primary Decision, the Supreme Court will not allow the new subterfuge.

N. York

Suffrage

Negroes Everywhere Should Vote Alike, for Their National Issues Are the Same.

To the Editor of The Amsterdam News,
Dear Sir:

There is no time at which the mind of an American citizen ought to turn to politics as during a presidential campaign. The Negro citizen is a part of the people and so he has the right, and the duty to himself, to help select the servants of the people.

Anyone familiar with the history of the suffrage from Magna Carta to the Nineteenth Amendment, knows of its efficacy as a securer of civil rights. But the suffrage must be exercised intelligently to have any effect. For the Negro, intelligent voting means its recognition as an indispensable duty of self-service, and its being wielded with such dexterity as to achieve desired results. It is essential that Negroes use every diligence to find out what candidates, by their past and present conduct in office, can be expected to defend the interests of the Negro. It is essential that the scattered Negro votes be welded into a unit. For if 50 per cent Negroes vote Democratic and 50 per cent Republican, it were as well—or rather as bad—that none voted at all.

There is no reason why all Negroes should not vote alike. All the national issues are common to all Negroes. Prohibition is the only one that marks a difference within the race. But prohibition is an accomplished fact that preponderates to the benefit of humanity. Why, then, should it stand in the way of racial unity in politics?

Unless the scattered Negro votes are minted into a hard medium of exchange with which our economics and social status can be brought, all our wailings will fall on ears that are deaf and hearts that mock.

(Signed) JOHN ALFRED JONES.
56 Edgecombe Avenue,
New York City.
August 31, 1928.

Political - 1928

North Carolina.

Suffrage

WINSTON SALEM, N. C

Sentinel

OCT 16 1928

Only Normal Registration Here Among Negroes, Says Mr. Norfleet

Any rumor that 5,000 negroes in Forsyth County have been registered to vote for Governor Smith is a "vicious and malicious lie" and is calculated to do Winston-Salem great harm in a business way, declared James K. Norfleet, chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee in this county, when appraised of such a rumor.

Mr. Norfleet first heard of the rumor when he received a telegram from Woodus Kellum, of Wilmington, Solicitor of the Eighth Judicial District, which read as follows:

"Reported 5,000 negroes registered in your county to vote for Governor Smith. Confirm or deny. Woodus Kellum."

Mr. Norfleet immediately dispatched a telegram to the Solicitor vigorously denying such a rumor and demanding the name of the author of the report.

Receiving no answer during the day Monday from Mr. Kellum, Chairman Norfleet made an effort to communicate with him over the long distance telephone during the evening, but failed. Monday at noon no reply had yet been received from the Solicitor and the author of the rumor remained unknown to local Democratic officials.

A check of the registration books, which were reached during the afternoon Monday and the early morning hours Tuesday indicated a very few negroes have registered, in fact not as many as had been expected in the normal course of registration.

Mr. Norfleet issued the following statement:

"Nothing could do Winston-Salem more harm in a business way than the report. No man would move his family her to live. Too much has already been said in an unfair way by rival cities about our large negro population.

"We have the best colored people in the United States. They are contented, on the whole, happy and prosperous. They enjoy the best schools in the State. Half the white school buildings in North Carolina are not as good as our colored schools. They are rapidly building good homes and living conditions are improving every year. Nothing should be done to disturb the splendid conditions now prevailing."

For some weeks there have been rumors that colored people might wish to become more active in politics, Mr. Norfleet said in discussing the rumor, but wise leaders of both races have urged against it, regardless of the party to which they may claim allegiance. He predicted that political activity on their part would cause friction and invite disaster.

"It would be exceedingly unfortunate to disturb the good relations now existing and we will adhere to the policy agreed upon and not make any effort to disturb the present relations," Mr. Norfleet stated.

Negro Voters Played Part in Breaking Solid South

RALEIGH, N. C., (ANP) In each of the states affected the Negro vote was a definite part the political revolution which threw four southern states into the Republican column. In North Carolina there was unprecedent activity among Negro voters, men and women. Not since 1908 when the Wilmington riots threw consternation into the political leaders of the group here and made possible the grandfather clause to the North Carolina constitution have Negroes gone to the polls in such numbers.

In Durham County there were between 1500 and 2,000 voters registered The work of the Colored Voters League, J. H. Johnson of Salisbury chairman, and McCants Andrews secretary, urged qualifying which could be done by the simple process of paying a poll tax and registering. C. C. Spaulding, J. M. Avory, J. E. Shepard, and other leaders worked quietly, but in Durham County neither the white Republican or Democratic organization made any effort to register Negroes. It is estimated that most of Durham's rate went Republican.

Greensboro had 1,000 colored Republicans on its poll books. The Democrats made a drive and added 2,000 more, white women being particularly active in this work. It is said Al Smith received the mapority of the added 2,000 . In Raleigh, 3,500 Negroes registered. An active Smith Club is said to have influenced one third of them. Winston-Salem was another center of activity. In most instances where Negroes voted for the Republican National ticket they are said to have favored Democrats for the local state office because of their higher calibre of the candidates and their distaste for the lily white Republicans. North Carolinas clause had a ten-year provision enacted in 1898. It restricted suffrage to those whose grandfathers had fought in previous wars or whose parents were entitled to vote. Its terms evpired in 1908.

In Virginia a strong Negro organization headed by Tiffany Tolliver of Doanoke who worked under the direction of State chairman Aryell and Bascom Slemp reported great activity. Florida and Texas likewise registered and voted numbers of Negroes, although in Texas as in other southern states the regular Republican and Oemocrat organization refused to encourage Negroes to exercise their franchise.

Political - 1928

Suffrage

CHRONICLE

Fairmont, Wet.

MAR 1928

OHIO NEGRO VOTERS

On account of the great interest being manifested in the approaching Ohio election of delegates to the National Republican convention, to be held at Kansas City in June, every phase of the situation in the Buckeye State is being carefully analyzed.

Of the eighty-eight counties in the State there are 33 in which approximately 93 per cent of the colored voters live, and nearly 80 per cent of these live in sixteen counties, which rank in importance, in the order named: Cuyahoga, Hamilton, Franklin, Montgomery, Mahoning, Clark, Summitt, Lucas, Greene, Butler, Stark, Jefferson, Belmont, Lorain, Ross and Muskingum. Among the cities there are 45 having from 200 to 30,000 colored voters, and the total vote equals nearly 82 per cent of their voting strength of the state. About 68 per cent of these, however, live in the eight cities ranked in the order of their importance as follows: Cleveland, Cincinnati, Columbus, Dayton, Youngstown, Springfield, Toledo and Akron.

In the state as a whole, Negoes of voting age, males and females, represent about 4 per cent of the total number of persons, all classes, 21 years of age and over, and about 11 per cent of the republican vote as cast in the state at the presidential election in 1924.

STAR

Franklin Ind

MAR 1 1928

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In the State as a whole, Negroes of voting age, males and females, represent about 4 per cent of the total number of persons, all classes, 21 years of age and over, and about 11 per cent of the republican vote as cast in the State at the Presidential election of 1924.

REVOLT AMONG RACE VOTERS OF OHIO

100,000 Voters There Deserting G. O. P. Standards By The Hundreds

STATE'S SWING TO AL SMITH INDICATED

Ohio's 24 Votes With New York's 45 Will Give Al A Chance

WASHINGTON, D. C.—

The first report of a revolt of colored voters from the Republican party reaches here from Ohio. If the defection should prove to be as general as it is reported, it may swing the 24 electoral votes of that state into the Smith column in the presidential election. Ohio has not gone Democratic in a national election since Woodrow Wilson carried it in 1916.

According to accounts reaching here, an investigation was made of the reported desertion of the Republican party by individual colored men and women. It developed that the movement was general and that the colored vote almost solidly Republican, was planning to support the Democratic electoral ticket.

Through the colored newspapers in Ohio, it is reported, propaganda with this result in view has been conducted from New York for a number of months.

Different Reasons

Different reasons are given for this action. The chief one is believed to be resentment at the treatment accorded colored Republicans during the eight years the party has been in power.

Colored Republicans also look distrustfully at the favor in which Herbert Hoover is held by the South and Republican efforts to capture electoral votes in the Solid South.

The Solid South is made up of ten states that have never gone Republican. They are Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, North and South Carolina and Virginia. These states have a total of 114 electoral votes.

Concede To Smith

Republican leaderes concede that block of votes to Governor Smith. They profess to have a fighting chance in North Carolina. In the other states of the Solid South they have been led to believe that the Republican vote can be materially increased if "black and tan" organizations in those states can be supplanted by a white man's party.

The checking of the Ohio revolt is of paramount interest. If it should spread to the border States of Maryland, Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee and Oklahoma, Republican success will be endangered. This group of states have a total of 61 electoral votes. The addition of these votes to the Solid South would give Governor Smith 175 electoral votes, 91 short of the majority needed to win.

100,000 Votes

If Smith can carry New York with 45 electoral votes New Jersey with 14, Connecticut with 7 and Rhode Island with 5, he will still need 20. The Ohio revolt, if not checked, may give him 24, bringing about his election. It is estimated there are more than 100,000 colored voters in Ohio.

Political - 1928

Suffrage

Oklahoma.

REPUBLICAN

Chandler, Okla

OCT 25 1928

It is amusing to note the great love developed, lately, for the democrats of Oklahoma for the Negro. They used to delight in panning republicans because the Negroes voted almost as a unit for republican nominees. They cried "nigger nigger", every campaign year. Now witness them falling over themselves in an endeavor to nab the Negro vote for Al. Smith. However, the Negro is not the dumbell the democratic leaders believe him to be. He will not readily forget the cussings, beatings and other mistreatment he has received at the hands of the democrats these past fifty years. He will be able to see that it is only his vote that the democrat seeks and that to the democrats he will always be "nigger".

BAR NEGROES FROM POLLS IN OKLAHOMA

1000 Fight For Vote Rights Denied Them in Southern State

MUSKOGEE, Okla., Nov. 1. — Approximately 1000 Race citizens residing in Wagoner county have filed application in Federal court here for a writ of Mandamus seeking to compel Bern Lawson, (White) Wagoner County Registrar to register them.

The race men and women assert that Lawson and thirteen precinct registrars of Wagoner County have entered into a conspiracy to deprive them of their rights to vote in the general election of November 6.

Federal Judge Williams set the case for hearing. He made no comment on the fact that the period for registration expired before the hearing would come up.

Refuse to Register Negroes in Okla.

OKLAHOMA CITY, Okla., Oct. 24—Registrars of Waggoner County, Oklahoma, are refusing to register colored Republican voters according to reports received from that section. The registrars claim that they have been instructed to register whites only.

It is reported that a number of registrars have resigned rather than comply with the request of the colored citizens who wish to register. The same condition is said to exist in Muskogee County.

OKLAHOMA CY., OKLA

Times

OCT 8 1928

Authorities Asked For Negro Voting

Registration Refusal Argued Before Court.

George W. Clark, senior district judge, left the courtroom Monday with attorneys still arguing when he demanded of D. I. Johnston, 300 West Seventeenth street, the legal authority by which R. A. Billups sr., 416 West Seventeenth street, former registrar in precinct 10B of ward one, can be forced to register negroes in that district.

Both attorneys, Johnston and Billups, agreed on a statement of fact regarding the attempts of Otis Pullins, Johnston's negro servant, to register for the primary election.

Johnston quoted Billups as saying that the precinct is "a white man's precinct. I have never registered negroes and I don't intend to because I have resigned as registrar."

Billups contends that his resignation as registrar in the precinct makes it impossible for a court order to compel him to register negro voters, dating their registration certificates as of July 25, as demanded by Johnston. Several other suits similar to the Pullins suit are pending against Billups.

TIMES
OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA

OCT 26 1928

1,000 Negroes Ask Registration Writ

Wagoner County Plot Is Charged in U. S. Suit.

MUSKOGEE, Oct. 26.—(AP)—Approximately 1,000 negroes of Wagoner county Friday filed application in federal court here for a writ of mandamus seeking to compel Bern Lawson, Wagoner county registrar, to register them.

The negroes alleged that Lawson and 13 precinct registrars of Wagoner county had entered into a conspiracy to deprive them of their rights to vote in the general election of November 6.

Judge Sets Hearing After Close of Registration

OKMULGEE, Oct. 26.—(AP)—After receiving the application of negro attorneys for a writ of mandamus to force Wagoner county election officials to register approximately 1,000 negroes, R. L. Williams, United States district judge Friday set the case for hearing November 1.

Judge Williams made no comment on the fact that the period for registration expires at midnight Friday night.

Political- 1928

Pennsylvania

Suffrage

TIMES
SCRANTON, PA.

JUL 20 1928

JUNIOR MECHANICS ARE URGED TO USE RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE

NOT MORE THAN 60 PER CENT. OF FRATERNALISTS EXERCISE PRIVILEGE, ACCORDING TO PROFESSOR LEBER.

Stating that there were more than 15,000,000 fraternalists in the country, most of whom have pledged themselves to uphold the constitution and exercise the right of suffrage, Prof. Charles Leber last evening, at a meeting of the Lackawanna-Wayne Booster association, Junior Mechanics, held at Vandling, stated that not more than 60 per cent. of the members of fraternal societies exercise that privilege. Particularly so was this true in the last two preceding presidential campaigns, also in the senatorial fight in this state. While not referring to any one candidate he urged upon the membership to get out the vote and to personally exercise the right of suffrage, thereby putting into action a portion of the fundamental principles on which patriotic societies, especially, are founded.

Touching on law enforcement he made reference to the eighteenth amendment stating that as long as it remained on the statute books the law must be respected and enforced. Four amendments have been added to the constitution, according to Mr. Leber, and distasteful as the enfranchisement of the negro was to the southerner, the income tax to the man of wealth, they were forced to "take the medicine" prescribed by our lawmakers. While many did not look with favor on the granting of suffrage to woman the law was enacted and woman was put on an equal basis with man. The same applies to the liquor question. Unpopular as it might be, said the speaker, it is the law, and its importance is just as great as any of the other added amendments and, as long as the act remains on the statute books, it is up to members of these fraternal societies to see that it is enforced.

To Invite National Officers.

Expressions received from a number of the councils in the association favored the issuance of an invitation to the national board of officers to visit this section in the near future. The board will likely make arrangements to come here shortly after the annual session of the state council, which meets in Uniontown during the second week of September. At this year's convention Gomer D. Lewis, of Jermyn, will become head of the organization in Pennsylvania. The meeting will be arranged so as to create enthusiasm and encourage the membership hereabouts to get back of the new state councilor and help him to put through a constructive program which he has already in the making. He has served during the past year as state vice councilor. Delegate Fred Krause, of South Scranton; also Howard W. Bea, of Honesdale; Oscar Smith, of Olyphant, and others, told of the activities going on at the Juniors' Country club grounds on Smith Hill, Wayne county. Reference was made to the erection of the barrack and equipment of same, it now being ready for use by members to spend week-ends or vacations. Secretary Isaac Harris told of the possibility of having the Smith Hill road, which runs directly through the club's plot, being taken over by the state within the near future and made a connecting link between two great highways, the Roosevelt trail in Honesdale, and the trail leading into the metropolis by way of Lake Huntingdon, a distance between both highways of only five miles. Such an improvement would enhance the value of the Juniors' property a hundred fold. He encouraged the members to take stock in the corporation while it is in its infancy for no one can foresee what the future has in store for this worthy project, a place where members and their families may enjoy the country breezes at their pleasure and share in the benefits to be derived from such a resort.

The next meeting of the association will be held at Olyphant on Saturday evening, Aug. 18.

You Must Register To Vote This Fall; Do It Thursday

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

You can't vote in the November elections unless you are registered.

The first registration day is Thursday, September 6. Hours, 8 a. m. to 2 p. m. and 5 p. m. to 11 p. m., daylight time. Location, your division polling place.

Second registration day is Tuesday, September 18; third, Saturday, October 6.

Previous registration will not count; you must register again.

If you have moved you must be assessed. Assessment days are September 4 and 5.

And make certain that you have a tax receipt. Either real estate, personal property or poll tax will do.

South Carolina

Suffrage

CHARLESTON
SOUTH CAROLINA

JAN 3 1928

The Burden-bearing Counties

The questioning by the Greenville News of the constitutional requirements in South Carolina that receipts for taxes for the preceding year be presented at the polls as a qualification for voting in a general election illustrates how far public opinion has moved since 1895, especially in that section of the State where the negro population is relatively small.

The makers of the Constitution thirty-three years ago were hard put to it to find lawful ways whereby the white people would be fortified in power, and the provision to which The News now sees objection was held an invaluable expedient for reducing the number of negro voters. The majority of adult negro males of voting age in the State in 1895 was around 30,000. The time has now come when the whites are in the majority. Comparatively few of the negroes a third of a century ago paid their taxes promptly, many of them paid no taxes at all, not even a poll tax. The white people, including most of the illiterates, were taxpayers and it was easy for those in party leadership to see to it that they paid in time to qualify them for voting in the general elections.

In Greenville County not 30 percent of the population is negro and about the same racial proportions obtain in Spartanburg, Oconee, and Pickens. The whites are a considerable majority in Anderson and Cherokee and probably a small majority in Laurens.

The acuteness of the old problem has disappeared in most of the counties of the Piedmont region and they are forgetting it, but it is still present in most of the middle and all coastal counties with the exception of Horry.

Many Piedmont counties escaped much of the danger and hardship which other counties suffered in the Reconstruction period and the casual manner in which the Greenville News speaks of the taxpaying requirements for voting sharply reveals the vanishing of the old fear of "negro supremacy" in the northern districts. "Arbitrary restrictive regulations," The News says, "tend rather to discourage the voting and they should not be continued unless there is clearly shown some very excellent reason for them." In at least thirty of the forty-six counties the "reason" is always in mind.

On these counties the burden of holding South Carolina in line as a Democratic State governed by white people rests, and their sense of it is lively. The white counties perform their full duty but it is so easy that they are not aware of it as a burden.

On this account, The News and Courier urges a return to the State primary plan adopted by Senator Tillman and the "Reformers" in 1892 whereby the influence and strength of the counties of the low country will be preserved in nominating the Governor and other state officers.

SOUTH CAROLINA'S WAY.

The South Carolina state democratic executive committee has proclaimed as a primary mandate that all participants, as voters and candidates, in the state primary are bound under the party oath to support in the general election the nominees of the democratic party, state and nation.

To vote for the republican national ticket in November, under the mandate, automatically removes such a voter from the democratic party.

If a voter for any reason should find it impossible to vote in the general elections such infraction will be overlooked.

This mandate was based upon the committee's "rule 32," which is the law of the state governing primary qualifications.

"Rule 32" in South Carolina is the same, in almost identical language, as "rule 7" in Georgia which pledges every primary voter to support the democratic state and national nominees in the general election. And, as in South Carolina, the Georgia committee's rule is the law of the state.

And there you are!

REGISTER! REGISTER!

This is the decennial period for registration in South Carolina No one is a qualified voter unless he has registered since the 1st day of January, 1928. Old registration certificates are no good and no one will be allowed to vote with one.

Every citizen ought register. Colored citizens sometimes say that since they cannot help in the choosing of the Governor and other state officers, there is no need to register. This a sorry way to look after so important a thing. Officers are not the only thing to be voted for, as desirable and important as that is. This is a time when bonds of all kinds are being voted for or against This is important to everyone who pays taxes, for remember, taxes are the thing that pay for bonds eventually. Primary laws that debar colored voters from the election of officers cannot debar them from voting either for or against bonds of any and all kinds Improvements of various kinds are made from the money obtained from bond issues. What can one expect if he is so indifferent about such a matter? 3-17-28

The only sensible thing to is to register and be prepared to vote—then vote at every opportunity. Columbia, S.C.

The requirements for registration are: 1st. Be able to read and write any section of the State Constitution submitted to you, or 2nd: Pay taxes on at least three hundred dollars worth of property—any kind of property, real estate or personal or both; just since it is at least three hundred dollars worth. While it is not the law to show tax receipts when applying for registration (unless one intends to register on his tax receipt, $300) yet the Registrars usually require one to show his tax receipts. When, therefore, applying for registration, carry the tax receipts along. Every 1st Monday of the months is registration day. If there are special elections of any kind, then the books are opened every day until 30 days before the special election.

Every intelligent, thrifty citizen should register. It is getting high time for colored citizens to realize that this is a duty and not merely a privilege. Women as well as men are entitled to register.

NEWS
CHARLESTON, S. C.

JUL 17 1928

Why the South is for Smith

The Southern states will vote for Smith and Robinson. Whatever the disaffection, whatever the spirit of resentment, whatever the pain on the part of devoted prohibitionists, they will support the Democratic ticket, because they must. Their good sense will convince them of it.

The presence of the negroes as potential voters ties the prohibitionists to the Democratic party. In South Carolina are now about 875,000 negroes and about 925,000 whites.

The white people cannot divide into two parties without letting many negro voters into both. If the negroes are used as voters they will be used as office-holders.

Since Mr. Taft took office in 1908, the Southern white people have not been harassed by Republican administrations with appointments of negroes, and a frame of mind has been induced upon them that this menace to their safety and peace has been wholly removed.

What they have forgotten is that in this same twenty years the contacts of the federal government with the private affairs and interests of the citizens have been multiplied by ten or twenty. They forgot what might take place when they ratified the Eighteenth amendment and their congressmen voted for the Volstead act. They forgot that, one day, negroes might be appointed as federal prohibition enforcers. The Volstead act is a "force bill."

Federal prohibition agents are federal police officers.

In South Carolina are about 200,000 negroes of voting age. If 50,000 of them vote the Republican ticket, they will demand their rewards and will receive them. Some of them will be appointed to office. That statement proves itself. Probably, in Northern cities, are a few negro prohibition agents now.

In South Carolina is not a Prohibition Democrat who would be willing for the home of a suspected "wet" to be raided by a negro agent. Nor would he have white men and white women in automobiles subject to be halted and searched by colored men.

In Mr. Taft's administration was no federal income tax, no collectors and auditors looking into the citizen's books. There was no Harrison narcotic act, with federal enforcers, in those days.

In these twenty years laws have been passed whereby the federal government enters, at will, into every man's and every woman's kitchen, office, store, bedroom, bathroom. Its agents tap the telephone wires and eavesdrop a conversation at a man's fireside if it is their wish. It is their right. The supreme court so has decided.

Twenty years ago the federal government seldom touched the average man. A few deputy collectors raided a few mountain moonshiners, the collector of the port here had to do with shippers, and other people would scarcely have known by personal association that there was a federal government except from the postoffice.

All that is changed now. "Uncle Sam" walks with us arm in arm. He crosses his legs under our tables. When he is in good humor he is a welcome guest, but when he is prying he isn't.

The News and Courier has no delight in talking about the negro question, its disposition toward the negroes is not unkind, but we have got to keep the negroes out of government in the South or get out of the South ourselves.

The federal government having become intimate with all of us, having taken a seat in the family circle, which it did not do formerly, it is for the South to watch.

If the whites divide, the negroes vote.

If the negroes vote, they get a share of the offices.

Prohibition agents and income tax deputies are federal officers.

These officers get closer to us than do other officers.

The Southern white prohibitionists will turn against national prohibition and vote for a "wet" candidate for president, pledged to uphold the right of each state to deal with the liquor traffic question in its own way, before they will take the chance of creating an angry division of the white people and having the South infested with negro prohibition agents and income tax investigators.

Of course the South will vote for Smith and Robinson.

NEWS
CHARLESTON, S. C.

AUG 1 1928

Unpleasant—But Facts

Here, in the South, the white people face circumstances, and facts that place metes and bounds on their thinking and action, and to deny their existence is extremist folly. Discussion of the "negro problem" is stale, barren of positive results, but we know that it is unavoidable. To us it is a local problem with symptoms, manifestations, and perils of which outsiders can have no realization. Therefore its treatment must be local, and that is to say that state rights must be preserved in their integrity. Already they have been too much trespassed upon, already our own people have sometimes been caught napping, and they have allowed new conditions to come into being which they should have averted.

While no reflecting person is in the least fearful of a return of negro supremacy, it is self-evident that the white people of South Carolina cannot divide into two political parties without opening the door to negroes to vote. One can imagine such restrictions about the ballot that only the more intelligent, the better class, of the colored people would have it, say 50,000 out of 400,000 colored adults.

Were these 50,000 allowed to vote and were they to divide evenly in support of the political parties, is it not clear that they would demand and would be given a share of the minor offices?

Would not the party denying them rewards drive them in a body to the other party and thereby destroy hope of its own success?

What are these minor offices?

One class of them are the rural mail carriers. No man comes into closer contact with the white family than does the rural carrier. He can hardly avoid learning many of the intimate affairs of the people whom he serves. Imagine the appointment of colored rural carriers in Spartanburg, in Anderson, in Laurens, in Hampton, in any county in South Carolina? Are the white people prepared for this? Dismissing the thought of what their conduct should be would or would it not be safe to experiment with colored rural carriers in South Carolina? Yet the carriers are federal officers and if colored people shall become a considerable factor in the choice of presidential electors in South Carolina, how shall they be excluded from holding these offices?

If Mr. Hoover or Governor Smith should owe victory in South Carolina to a balance of power exerted by negro voters would they or could they refuse the negroes recognition?

If an administration, under obligation to negro voters, could not give them the small office of rural carrier, what office could it give them? We have now colored postal clerks on the railroads, but they do not come into contact with the white family fifteen miles from a town.

Out of Washington come appointments now of prohibition enforcers, income tax gatherers and investigators and a variety of officers unknown to the law twenty years ago. This centralization of government and its serious perils have not come home to us because we have had and still have a one party state.

Who can guarantee that we can have a two party state with both parties white? The News and Courier devoutly wishes that we could. The day may come when, without turbulence, without resistance, the whites will consent to the holding of office by negroes, but it has not yet come.

Political-1928 Tennessee

Suffrage

GANG BOYS, STUFFS, SLUGS, JUGS WAY TO ITS WORST "VICTORY"

Machine Lifts the Lid Off Political Hell.

POLICE ABET ANARCHY

"Mack Sluggers" Make Pikers of "Rick Riters."

THEY DID VOTE NEGROES

They Hauled Them Out of the Tubercular Sanatorium and Voted Them for Mack—They Doubled the 1926 Score Out at Stewartsville, Where the "Vote" Came in 811 for Mack and 13 for Horton—Some Fast Counting Down in the Sixth, Too.

"Yes, we wrote it Rick, and now we vote it Mack!"

Under this banner perched on top of truckloads of negroes the Shelby machine rode through political banditry and carnage yesterday to the foulest local "victory" in all its career of grand larceny and rapine.

They voted it Mack!

They bought it Mack!

They stuffed it Mack!

They slugged it Mack!

They jugged it Mack!

Their police department maintained strict anarchy throughout the day. Commissioner Davis' finest defended "the fair name of the city" early and late by a reign of terror carried out with machine-like precision.

They stood by and watched the buying of negro votes near the Gayoso lumber yards.

They beat, bullied and jailed reporters and camera men.

They hauled illegally appointed watchers to the police station to repent at leisure.

The sheriff's office assisted in maintaining disorder.

Stewartsville Makes Record.

The machine, true to its threat, voted negroes in the Democratic primary. Tubercular negroes were rousted out of Oakville Sanatorium and herded to the polls for Mack.

Negroes of all degrees of public and private health were voted at Stewartsville. The returns came in early and showed that Mack got 811 votes to Horton's 13. This is almost twice as good as the boys did for Mack in the same place two years ago.

Not only was the battle to the strong but also the race was to the swift. For speed the palm must go to the counters down in the second precinct of the Sixth Ward. The polls closed at 7. Within 20 minutes the results were telephoned into The Commercial Appeal office. This is an average of 12 ballots per minute, or one ballot every five seconds. There were 10 names or more on the ballot. This is an average of two names called per second.

Yes, the race was to the swift.

Boys Undismayed.

In other places they counted a little farther into the night. It looked like the machine was driving desperately for a 25,000 vote in the county to that Mack's "majority" might run over 20,000. The vote was disappointing as to size in many of the city precincts. But the boys were undismayed. They had wrought powerfully out in the county. Many of the boxes reported from single gang precincts offset the returns from entire counties in other parts of West Tennessee. In those parts only "known Democrats" voted, and that means white people.

Up in the modest second precinct of the First Ward the voting was calm and peaceful down to the middle of the afternoon. At 3:30 o'clock the books showed that 86 persons had voted. They straggled in a few at a time.

But behold a miracle!

When a recheck of the books was made at 4:15 o'clock the books showed that 221 persons had "voted."

Where did they come from? And when? And why?

POLICE AND THUGS RUN ELECTION; BLACKS GO TO POLLS LIKE CATTLE

Horton Watchers Are Driven From Polling Places.

REPORTERS ARE SLUGGED

Officers of Law Smash Cameras, Jail News Men.

BOOTLEGGERS PLAY PART

Whisky Runners Work Hand-in-Hand With Sheriff's Deputies in Intimidation of Voters. Primary Turned Into Bold Series of Banditry in City and County—Tom Collier Thrown Into Bastile.

Negroes were herded to the polls like cattle, Horton watchers were driven away from polling places, news cameras were seized and smashed, and reporters beaten up and jailed yesterday when police, bootleggers, sheriff's deputies and ex-convicts seized the election machinery in the boldest steal "the boys" ever attempted.

The election banditry was not confined to negro wards in Memphis. From all over the county came reports last night of irregularities and intimidation of voters.

But in city wards where negro population is largest the tactics of the Crump machine were without parallel. While polling places of Republican primaries practically were deserted, the Democratic primary polls next door would be besieged with blacks. They were lined up like prisoners of war and marched to the ballot box to vote for Hill McOlister.

And as watchers for Horton protested, they either were promtply ejected, or hi-jacked and sent to jail to be held incommunicado until the polls closed.

Despotism was absolute from the moment the polls opened at 7 a.m. until the count was completed late in the night. The city-county machine was in the saddle, and those who disputed its power were slugged in numerous instances, jailed in other cases, and intimidated and threatened at a score of voting precincts.

It was a hectic day for Commercial Appeal-Evening Appeal camera men, who sought to snap pictures of the herding of negroes by white men at various precincts. One of these victims who was maltreated is "Dickie" Bolton, a movie photographer, intimate friend of practically every newspaper man in Memphis.

Thugs Slug Photographer.

He was slugged by two unidentified thugs near the precinct at 1534 South Lauderdale Street, a big negro voting place, when he tried to get a movie film of a herd of negroes who were going to the polls like so many sheep. Bolton was thrown from the truck and beaten up. His movie camera, costing $950, was smashed on the pavement.

When the photographer appealed to police he was warned to make himself scarce. He begged for some recourse against the hi-jackers who wrecked his expensive camera—and police made an arrest. They took into custody a citizen who became indignant at the outrage he had witnessed and volunteered as a witness.

No Pretense of Protection.

It was the first day since the Yankees took Memphis back in Civil War days, that the city was absolutely without any pretense of protection by its own police force and constabulary. Not a motorcycle cop was seen patroling the automobile highways to halt the speeder and maintain the rules of the road. Not a traffic policeman was in sight in the congested downtown district. With the inspectors and the captain, the lieutenants and sergeants, detectives and patrolmen, they were ganged around voting places with orders to snatch cameras, keep reporters at a distance, eject Horton watchers and subdue indignant citizens who dared to protest at the high-handed tactics. And they obeyed orders to the letter.

Working with the police were the sheriff's deputies, the bootleggers, ex-convicts and election thugs.

"Jim" Mulcahy, bootlegger-deluxe, who has long had "protection," ruled high and mighty in the First Precinct of the Eleventh Ward. "Jim" told the Appeal reporters to "get the h—l away from here, and don't come back." Mulcahy long has been a star-heeler for "the boys" and his reward is uninterrupted prosperity in "business."

Mulcahy now is under federal indictment for peddling corn. "Jim" is not worrying. Here is why. His ward gave McAlister 416, and 20 for Horton. About 350 of these ballots were cast by negroes. In the Republican primary in Mulcahy's ward Bob Church got 155 votes—all that were cast. That's another reason Mulcahy is at peace with the world.

Davis Gave the Orders.

Going back to thrills experienced by reporters, policeman and sheriff's deputies admited they had "orders' 'to seize cameras and arrest Appeal reporters. These "orders" were accredited to Cliff Davis. Patrolman J. J. Elmore, who arrested Null Adams, Appe alreporter, explained that "the man (evidently meaning Davis) said get those cameras and I did it."

Charles Richards, another reporter for the Appeal papers, was beaten by a bootlegger while John Cannon, a police sergeant, seized his camera.

B. F. Littlejohn, a patrolman, and O. A. Clark, a detective, snatched a camera from John Osborn, Appeal reporter. They gave it back to him a few hours later, when police and deputies at another precinct again seized the camera and sent it to police headquarters where it was held.

Motorcycle Policeman King grabbed a camera from Key Hart, also an Appeal reporter. The cop smashed the camera and threw the reporter into a cell.

Chester Stroughter, Appeal reporter, was seized and searched. Films found in his possession were destroyed.

TENNESSEE JUDGE ASKS U. S. AID TO STOP NEGRO VOTE

Democratic Candidate for Senate Resorts to New Idea to Intimidate Negro Voters.

Knoxville, Tenn., July 30.—(AP) Judge John R. Neal, of Knoxville, candidate for the Democratic nomination for United States senator from Tennessee today called on Attorney General John G. Sargent to use the agencies of the federal government to prevent conspiracy in Shelby county Thursday, date of the primary.

In a telegram to the United States attorney general he asserts that the district attorney from the western district of Tennessee has failed or refused to take cognizance of the alleged conspiracy which involves the voting of thousands of Negroes, by the Republican organization of Shelby in the Democratic primary.

"More than two weeks ago, by letter," the telegram says, "I called the attention of the United States district attorney of the western district to an open and widespread conspiracy in Memphis to violate the federal election law. Later I wired the district at-

torney to the same effect.

"The district attorney has failed to respond to either my letter or telegram.

"I am convinced that this failure is due to the fact that the Republican organization is a part of said conspiracy, as evidenced by the fact that a notorious Negro leader, head of the Republican organization, is working in conjunction with the vicious Crump machine to secure the illegal participation of thousands of Negro voters in the Democratic primary. I am confident that I reflect the wishes of the vast majority of the citizens of Tennessee when I appeal to you to direct the agencies of the federal government to prevent conspiracy and to direct the punishment of the guilty parties whomsoever they may be."—Atlanta Constitution.

E. A. Laughter, bootlegger and ex-convict and political ally of Commissioner Davis, led the attack on a reporter in one precinct.

Negroes were voted in droves.

It was a repetition of the accumulative infamy of the machine, with the added insolence that comes from protection by deputy sheriffs and police.

The men responsible for yesterday's outrage, assaults and thievery ought to retire from politics forever.

There is no place in a civilized community for those who perpetrate things such as happened in Shelby County yesterday.

The few representatives accorded Finis Garrett at the polls were notified when they reported for duty that their services would not be required.

Henchmen of the machine were substituted.

Watchers were not permitted in wards where stealage was planned.

Watchers who insisted on their rights were arrested for threatened breach of the peace.

Forces of the law became defenders of the lawless.

The outrage of the machine was limited to its genius in devising ways to flaunt the law and intimidate decent persons.

It was the crookedest and most disgraceful election ever held in Shelby County.

And They Called It an Election

Yesterday's primary in Shelby County was a climax of the political venality of the political machine.

It was not an election. It was an orgy.

The gang has pulled rough stuff before. Yesterday the gang exceeded the limit.

It violated the law. It trampled under foot every principle of decency and self-respect.

Two years ago The Commercial Appeal took pictures of negroes voting in the primary for McAlister. These pictures shamed every self-respecting white man.

The gang determined this time it would vote negroes for McAlister and would permit no pictures to be made.

Commercial Appeal and Evening Appeal reporters were assaulted by police, bootleggers and ex-convicts.

The assistant attorney general of the county assaulted one of the reporters.

The police demanded the camera of a reporter who was sitting in an automobile molesting no one.

The police took the films out of the camera and destroyed them.

The police searched reporters and destroyed their notes and note paper.

At one precinct the police called a reporter vile names, threatened to beat him up if he got out of his car, ordered him away from the polling place, and threatened to kill him if he returned.

This is the kind of protection the psalm-singing commissioner of police affords law-abiding persons in this community.

Here Is a Picture of a Memphis Election

Police brutality, coupled with underworld rowdyism, not to say terrorism, at the polls yesterday reached its height in Memphis. It was the worst since 1914, when the gang wrote it Rick. Commercial Appeal reporters were beaten, intimidated, searched and insulted, as were Horton and Garrett watchers.

The police were armed with strict orders to prevent the taking of pictures. They smashed cameras and used their billies. They were aided by the crooks and the criminals in the rotten wards.

The Commercial Appeal promised to give a full and complete picture of the gang tactics in the negro wards. The following personal experiences related below will throw some light on the boldest, the rottenest, the most fraudulent and by and large the most absurd election ever held in Memphis.

Gerber Hit Sisson.

"I was assigned to cover Ward Fourteen, Precinct, One, and Ward Twenty-five, Precinct One.

"I first went to Ward Fourteen. This booth was in a bicycle shop at Walker Avenue and Mississippi Boulevard. The boxes were a bit late in arriving and as voting had not started by 9:15 o'clock I walked over to Ward Twenty-five. This booth was located at 944 South Lauderdale Street.

"Here I found voting just beginning. The Republican primary was being held a few doors up the street in the front yard of a negro house.

"Several negroes went into the Democratic booth, but came back out without voting when they learned it was Democratic. Only three negroes voted at this booth all day. I took a picture of the first negroes to arrive. I had taken four pictures in all when things quieted down.

"I went back over to Ward Fourteen. Everything was quiet. I sat down by Patrolman B. J. Bryant and his brother officer and showed them the mechanism of the camera. They laughted and joked with me as I stepped off my distances so I would know where to stand without focusing the camera over and over.

"About this time Sergeants W. D. Stallings and J. P. Cross drove up. They called Patrolman Bryant over to the car an dtalked to him for several minutes.

Orders Pictures Stopped.

"He came back, called me aside and told me that the sergeant had ordered him not to let me take any pictures. Bryant and I are good friends and have been for a long time. He said he didn't want any trouble.

"I walked out into the street at least 40 feet from the front of the booth to take the picture of a negro woman who had just walked up. Bryant did not immediately follow me.

"But then Will Gerber, assistant attorney general; Sam Ulough and Ross A. Matthews, and some other man, came up in an auto. Gerber went inside the booth, but came out quickly. He and his cohorts huddled around and held a conference.

Bryant walked over to me and said he would have to take the camera, at the same time catching hold of it. I did not [illegible], nor did I hand it to him. He just took it.

"Ride him. Arrest him," Ross Matthews began yelling at Officer Bryant.

I turned to go to the drug store to use the phone.

Gerber also started for the store. We met.

"Thanks, Gerber," I said. I have known Gerber for a long time, and as he talked to Matthews I thought maybe he had saved me from being arrested. I had heard that other reporters were being arrested and was grateful to him.

Gerber Swears Some.

"Don't thank me for a d——thing," he yelled back. He has a strong, heavy voice.

Then seeming to get mad, he grabbed at me and pushed me against the wall.

"Listen, punk," he stormed, "you better not put this in the paper, either, hear me, or I'll mash your g—— d—— face in."

Onlookers came to my rescue from an apparently certain beating and grabbed Gerber's arms. Then he got mad, sure 'nuff. "I'll knock your brains out," he threatened and tried to jerk loose. George Burkle, an election official, tried to calm him.

I turned and went into the drug store. Plough and others followed me. "What are you going to do?" they asked. "Call the office," I told them, "and report what has happened."

But they grabbed me, jerked the received out of my hand, and shoved me out the door. I started to another telephone but they followed and told me to get away and stay away. I walked on down Mississippi followed by Plough. Seeing I could not shake him, I boarded a street car and rode to Lauderdale Street and Mississippi, where I alighted and telephoned the office.

I was ordered to go back, keep quiet, and not to argue, but to watch.

Capt. Hulet Smith came along, picked me up in his car and took be back to the booth. "Stay there. Just don't start any arguments," was his advice.

At noon I had lunch with A. E. French, election officer at Ward 15. When I returned I found that the polling place at Mississippi and Walker had been moved to 730 Alston Avenue.

Political - 1928

Tennessee

Suffrage

We Oppose Negro Voting In Democratic Primaries

Mr. George Morris,
Vice President, Commercial Publishing Co.,
Memphis, Tennessee.

Re: You Asked One—Now I'll Ask Some.

Dear Sir:

I am directing this open letter to you as vice president of the company which publishes The Commercial Appeal and Evening Appeal because I have authoritative information that you are the local official of the company who directly represents the present Nashville publishers of the two newspapers.

In your four-column editorial of Sunday, July 29, 1928, headed "A Move to Turn the Democratic Party Over to the Negroes," you quoted from an editorial of the New York Times of July 26, 1928, concerning the barring of negroes from the Democratic primaries in the State of Texas, the clear and direct inference or charge being that the Shelby County Primary Board, of which I am chairman, could and would do likewise except for the fact that our board, and I especially want negroes to vote in the Democratic primary of August 2, 1928.

No one knows, or should know, better than you that this inference or charge is utterly false.

The writer of the editorial mentioned deliberately left out and failed to quote that paragraph of the said Times editorial, immediately preceding the one quoted, which clearly states in substance that the Texas Democratic Committee had the right under the Texas primary law "to fix the qualifications for party membership" and that in the exercise of that right under the law the Texas Democratic Committee fixed as a "qualification for membership" in the Democratic party of Texas that a person must be white, thereby barring negroes from voting in same.

The law of Tennessee regulating primaries, which both Chairman E. N. Haston, in his "instructions to precinct officers, and I, in my statement, quoted verbatim (and was published, with deliberately misleading and false headlines, on the front page in the same issue of The Commercial Appeal) expressly fixes the qualifications of voters in all primaries in Tennessee. No authority whatsoever is given the local primary board, whose functions are purely ministerial, to fix in any way the qualifications of voters in said primary. The State Democratic Executive Committee, which becomes the State Democratic Primary Board for the purpose of holding primary elections, has no such authority (as has the Texas committee) and has never tried to assume any.

I gave, as chairman of the local Democratic Primary Board, a definite and clear answer to the question of The Commercial Appeal concerning the eligibility of voters in the coming primary. Now I want The Commercial Appeal to be equally definite and clear in answering some questions of mine. Your paper has always done a lot of mouthing and prating about "law enforcement." Let the public see just how sincere you are about this. Here goes—answer "yes" or "no," and then explain—if you can.

1. Do you believe in the enforcement of all laws?
2. Do you believe in the enforcement of the primary law, especially as to watchers, etc.?
3. If you say (even indirectly or inferentially, as you probably will if you answer at all, in a lot of "boloney" language, from the consequences of which you will later try to escape) that my associates and I on the board should violate the primary law by barring negroes as such from voting, what valid reason can you give why we or anyone else should obey or respect the rest of the primary law, or any other law of the State of Tennessee, or of the United States?

Please publish your replies—if any.

I am making this an open letter so that the public can judge of your sincerity; regardless of whether you throw the original in the ash can or not.

Yours for less bunk and blooey,

WILLIAM M. STANTON,
Chairman, Shelby County Democratic Primary Board.

Mr. Stanton was so nice about answering our questions that we print his letter, and we are going to answer his questions.

We asked Mr. Stanton as chairman of the Shelby County primary board if negroes would be permitted to vote in the Democratic primary for senator and governor.

It took Mr. Stanton several days to frame his answer to our question. He did not make a direct answer. The inference, however, was clear.

It confirmed the general impression that the machine plans to vote negroes in the Democratic primary this year as it voted them for McAlister two years ago.

The public is not interested in personalities. It cares as little for the opinion of the vice president of The Commercial Appeal, Inc., as an individual, as it cares for the opinion of W. M. Stanton as an individual.

We addressed Mr. Stanton as chairman of the primary board. Our answer to Mr. Stanton is the answer of The Commercial Appeal.

Mr. Stanton alleges that we deliberately left out a part of the editorial from the New York Times. He is correct. The editorial was nearly a column long. We printed only the paragraph that had application to the local situation.

It is true that the Texas Democratic committee had the right under the primary law to fix the qualification for party membership.

The primary board of Texas fixed as one qualification for participating in the Democratic primary that the voter must be white.

In Tennessee the law fixes the qualification of voters in primaries. The Tennessee law says:

> **No voter shall be eligible to vote in a primary election of any party unless he be a bona fide member of such political party and affiliated therewith, or unless at the time he shall offer to vote he shall declare his allegiance to the political party in which primary he offers to vote and states upon oath, if challenged, that he expects to affiliate with such party in whose primary he is offering to vote.**

Mr. Stanton knows when the law says "no voter shall be eligible to vote in a primary election of any party unless he be a bona fide member of such party and affiliates therewith," that it went as far as a law could go without mentioning color or race.

The Democratic party in the south is traditionally a white man's party.

The Democratic party in Tennessee is a white man's party.

Negroes are not bona fide members of the Democratic party and are not affiliated with it.

2. "Do you believe in the enforcement of the primary law, especially as to watchers, etc.?"

Yes.

There is a duty to observe the spirit as well as the letter of the law.

Mr. Stanton's contention that negroes have a right to vote in a white Democratic primary in Shelby County is at variance with county primary boards in the other 94 counties in the state.

The Shelby County machine is often at variance with the Democratic party in the other counties of Tennessee.

Shelby is the only county in the state that promises to vote thousands of negroes in the primary and give McAlister a fraudulent majority.

Mr. Stanton might as well say that the primary board has no right to prevent an election steal as to say that negroes cannot be barred from voting in a primary.

The law does not specifically say that there must be no stealing, but it provides safeguards for the protection of the ballot.

It does not say that a negro may not vote in a Democratic primary, but that is the intent and purpose of the law. The spirit of the law will be observed in 94 of the 95 counties in Tennessee.

Now as to Mr. Stanton's questions:

1. "Do you believe in the enforcement of all laws?"

Yes.

For the benefit of Mr. Stanton, who quoted only that part of the law which provides what watchers may not do, we quote the whole law on the subject:

> **Any candidate for a primary nomination under this chapter, shall, upon his conferring that authority, either in writing, in person, or by his duly authorized county manager, have from the opening of the polls until the vote shall have been counted and certified, an inspector or watcher of election, who shall have the right to watch the holding of said election, the counting of the votes therein cast and the certification of the returns, such watcher or inspector to have the right to challenge, question, and examine any voter who may offer to vote in said primary election, and upon the request of such inspector or watcher, the officers, judges, and clerks of such election shall give him a statement signed by them setting forth the vote of each candidate as cast and counted in said precinct. Such inspector or watcher shall have the right to examine the ballots as they are counted. Such watchers or inspectors, however, shall not offer or attempt to influence the vote of any elector for or against any candidate, nor shall he interfere with the proper holding and conducting of said election.**

If the gang permits watchers to remain at the polls and check up on the contemplated stealing it will be the first time

Political - 1928

Tennessee

Suffrage

We Oppose Negro Voting In Democratic Primaries

Mr. George Morris,
Vice President, Commercial Publishing Co.,
Memphis, Tennessee.

Re: You Asked One—Now I'll Ask Some.

Dear Sir:

I am directing this open letter to you as vice president of the company which publishes The Commercial Appeal and Evening Appeal because I have authoritative information that you are the local official of the company who directly represents the present Nashville publishers of the two newspapers.

In your four-column editorial of Sunday, July 29, 1928, headed "A Move to Turn the Democratic Party Over to the Negroes," you quoted from an editorial of the New York Times of July 26, 1928, concerning the barring of negroes from the Democratic primaries in the State of Texas, the clear and direct inference or charge being that the Shelby County Primary Board, of which I am chairman, could and would do likewise except for the fact that our board, and I especially want negroes to vote in the Democratic primary of August 2, 1928.

No one knows, or should know, better than you that this inference or charge is utterly false.

The writer of the editorial mentioned deliberately left out and failed to quote that paragraph of the said Times editorial, immediately preceding the one quoted, which clearly states in substance that the Texas Democratic Committee had the right under the Texas primary law "to fix the qualifications for party membership," and that in the exercise of that right under the law the Texas Democratic Committee fixed as a qualification for membership" in the Democratic party of Texas that a person must be white, thereby barring negroes from voting in same.

The law of Tennessee regulating primaries, which both Chairman E. N. Haston, in his "instructions to precinct officers, and I, in my statement, quoted verbatim (and was published, with deliberately misleading and false headlines, on the front page in the same issue of The Commercial Appeal) expressly fixes the qualifications of voters in all primaries in Tennessee. No authority whatsoever is given the local primary board, whose functions are purely ministerial, to fix in any way the qualifications of voters in said primary. The State Democratic Executive Committee, which becomes the State Democratic Primary Board for the purpose of holding primary elections, has no such authority (as has the Texas committee) and has never tried to assume any.

I gave, as chairman of the local Democratic Primary Board, a definite and clear answer to the question of The Commercial Appeal concerning the eligibility of voters in the coming primary. Now I want The Commercial Appeal to be equally definite and clear in answering some questions or mine. Your paper has always done a lot of mouthing and prating about "law enforcement." Let the public see just how sincere you are about this. Here goes—answer "yes" or "no," and then explain—if you can.

1. Do you believe in the enforcement of all laws?
2. Do you believe in the enforcement of the primary law, especially as to watchers, etc.?
3. If you say (even indirectly or inferentially, as you probably will if you answer at all, in a lot of "baloney" language, from the consequences of which you will later try to escape) that my associates and I on the board should violate the primary law by barring negroes as such from voting, what valid reason can you give why we or anyone else should obey or respect the rest of the primary law, or any other law of the State of Tennessee, or of the United States?

Please publish your replies—if any.

I am making this an open letter so that the public can judge of your sincerity; regardless of whether you throw the original in the ash can or not.

Yours for less bunk and blooey,

WILLIAM M. STANTON,
Chairman, Shelby County Democratic Primary Board.

Mr. Stanton was so nice about answering our questions that we print his letter, and we are going to answer his questions.

We asked Mr. Stanton as chairman of the Shelby County primary board if negroes would be permitted to vote in the Democratic primary for senator and governor.

It took Mr. Stanton several days to frame his answer to our question. He did not make a direct answer. The inference, however, was clear.

It confirmed the general impression that the machine plans to vote negroes in the Democratic primary this year as it voted them for McAlister two years ago.

The public is not interested in personalities. It cares as little for the opinion of the vice president of The Commercial Appeal, Inc., as an individual, as it cares for the opinion of W. M. Stanton as an individual.

We addressed Mr. Stanton as chairman of The Commercial Appeal.

Our answer to Mr. Stanton is the answer to Mr. Stanton.

Mr. Stanton alleges that we deliberately left out a part of the editorial from the New York Times. He is correct. The editorial was nearly a column long. We printed only the paragraph that had application to the local situation.

It is true that the Texas Democratic committee had the right under the primary law to fix the qualification for party membership.

The primary board of Texas fixed as one qualification for participating in the Democratic primary that the voter must be white.

In Tennessee the law fixes the qualifications of voters in primaries. The Tennessee law says:

No voter shall be eligible to vote in a primary election of any party unless he be a bona fide member of such political party and affiliated therewith, or unless at the time he shall offer to vote he shall declare his allegiance to the political party in which primary he offers to vote and states upon oath, if challenged, that he expects to affiliate with such party in whose primary he is offering to vote.

Mr. Stanton knows when the law says "no voter shall be eligible to vote in a primary election of any party unless he be a bona fide member of such party and affiliates therewith," that it went as far as a law could go without mentioning color or race.

The Democratic party in the south is traditionally a white man's party.

The Democratic party in Tennessee is a white man's party.

Negroes are not bona fide members of the Democratic party and are not affiliated with it.

There is a duty to observe the spirit as well as the letter of the law.

Mr. Stanton's contention that negroes have a right to vote in a white Democratic primary in Shelby County is at variance with county primary boards in the other 94 counties in the state.

The Shelby County machine is often at variance with the Democratic party in the other counties of Tennessee.

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1. "Do you believe in the enforcement of all laws?"

Yes.

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Yes.

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If the gang permits watchers to remain at the polls and check up on the contemplated stealing it will be the first time

it has failed to throw them out and stuff the ballot boxes.'

3. "If you say (even indirectly or inferentially, as you probably will if you answer at all, in a lot of 'boloney' language, from the consequences of which you will later try to escape) that my associates and I on the board should violate the primary law by barring negroes as such from voting, what valid reason can you give why we or anyone else should obey or respect the rest of the primary law, or any other law of the state of Tennessee, or of the United States."

Mr. Stanton describes the above as a question. We will take his word for it and try to answer it.

In the first place, we do not agree with Mr. Stanton's premise.

We do not agree that exclusion of negroes from white Democratic primaries is a violation of law.

We maintain that participation of negroes in a white Democratic primary is contrary to the spirit, purpose and intent of the law.

Negroes will be barred from participation in Thursday's primary in 94 counties in Tennessee. It is proposed to vote them in droves in Memphis and Shelby County.

Respect for law in the other 94 counties is fully as strong as it is in Memphis and Shelby County.

Mr. Stanton is an authority on history. He knows the story of Reconstruction Days.

White supremacy in the south is dependent upon keeping the Democratic party in power and keeping it white.

If the negroes in Fayette, Haywood and Tipton counties, for example, should successfully assert the right to vote in a Democratic primary (following the leadership of the Shelby County gang which is forcing negroes into a Democratic primary), they would control every political office in these counties.

The Commercial Appeal is a friend of the negro. It insists upon giving him his constitutional rights.

It condemns the refusal to permit negroes to build schools and colleges in Memphis.

It condemns the local practice of using negroes for vicious and illegal purposes in Memphis.

Mr. Stanton thinks he has found a loophole by which negroes may be encouraged to vote in white Democratic primaries.

We say that Mr. Stanton misinterprets the spirit of the law as well as the traditions of the Democratic party and the traditions of the south.

We say further that the purpose to use negroes for the benefit of McAlister in the primary is a shame and a disgrace.

We hope we have made our answers clear.

"Ask me another."

6000 NEGROES TO REGISTER IN SHELBY COUNTY, TENN., DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY.

CONFIRMING the statement made in the MANUFACTURERS RECORD a few weeks ago that the two dominant parties would eagerly compete for the negro vote not only in New York and in the debatable border States, but also in the South itself, is an interesting bit of news from Memphis. An editorial in the Memphis Commercial Appeal of July 29 had the following:

"* * * Mr. Stanton, chairman of the Shelby county primary board, has answered our question. We asked if the primary board would permit the machine to vote negroes in the white Democratic primary next Thursday.

"The machine voted 6000 negroes for its candidate two years ago in a white Democratic primary. There is every indication that the machine proposes to do the same thing next Thursday.

"Under the ruling of the primary board, negroes have a right to vote in the white Democratic primary * * * in Memphis and Shelby county."

It is an open and acknowledged fact that the Democratic party now seeks the negro vote in national elections as ardently as does the Republican party in Baltimore, in New York, in the West and, as shown in this Memphis situation, in many parts of the South.

PAY YOUR POLL TAX!

Tomorrow, Friday, September 7, at midnight, will be the last opportunity afforded citizens of our county to pay the paltry sum of two dollars which represents the tax that will give them the privilege of voting for the president of the United States in the approaching November election. The man or woman who will wilfully allow this opportunity to pass is wholly unmindful, not only of his own interests as an American citizen, but they are inconsiderate of the interests of others. The privilege of casting a vote for president of one's country, the highest and most important position within the gift of the people, should not be looked upon lightly. In future years, the individual who can refer to the fact that they cast a vote that went toward the selection of the nation's chief executive who will serve during the next four years, will have something worthwhile to boast of. The only way to enjoy this privilege is to qualify by going to the office of the trustee in the courthouse and paying the poll tax before tomorrow night. Don't delay this duty another minute. Drop everything, regardless as to its importance and prepare yourself to exercise your franchise. PAY YOUR POLL TAX TODAY!

NO CHANCE OF "TEXAS PRIMARY" LAW IN TENN.

W. L. Porter, editor of the East Tennessee News, of Knoxville, Tenn., was a visitor in the city this week on business.

In discussing Tennessee politics, Editor Porter stated that Negroes supported both candidates for Governor on the Democratic ticket in the recent state elections.

With reference to an article which appeared in the New York Times, Sunday, stating that as a result of the widespread voting of Negroes in a Democratic primary in Tennessee, that an effort will be made to get the State Legislature to pass a law similar to the Texas primary law which bars Negroes, Mr. Porter stated that he was not alarmed over the situation. Such legislation he said could not and would not pass.

He expressed himself as being hopeful over the conditions in his state.

Suffrage.

A Move to Turn the Democratic Party Over to the Negroes

After much prodding, Mr. Stanton, chairman of the Shelby County primary board, has answered our question.

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The machine voted 6,000 negroes for McAlister two years ago in a white Democratic primary. There is every indication that the machine purposes to do the same thing next Thursday.

Mr. Stanton's answer confirms the indication that the machine intends to cast a big negro vote for McAlister.

Under the ruling of the primary board negroes have a right to vote in the white Democratic primary. That is to say, they have a right to vote in the white Democratic primary in Memphis and Shelby County.

They will not have, or exercise that right, in Fayette, Haywood, Tipton, or any other county in Tennessee.

McAlister will get no negro votes outside of Shelby County. Negroes do not vote in a white Democratic primary in any other county in Tennessee.

Mr. Stanton says he does not feel different from anyone else on the question of Republicans, white or black, voting in a Democratic primary. Mr. Stanton has an erroneous idea about how some other people, mainly those outside of Shelby County, feel.

The law that applies to Shelby County applies to every other county in the state. Primary boards in 94 other counties feel keenly on the subject. Their feelings are so well understood, that negroes will not vote in the white Democratic primary. No attempt will be made to vote them.

The ruling of the chairman of the primary board brings the issue squarely to the Democrats of Tennessee. The issue is:

Shall the negroes of Shelby County, voting in Democratic primaries, become a determining factor in statewide Democratic primaries?

The negro vote which the machine proposes to use for McAlister will not be a determining factor in this primary. Horton is going to win by a tremendous majority.

He will not be defeated for the Democratic nomination for governor through the votes of machine-herded negroes in Shelby County.

But a situation may arise in the future by which 6,000 negro votes in Shelby County would determine the result of a Democratic primary. If such a thing should happen, it would destroy the Democratic party in Tennessee.

Under the ruling of the Shelby County primary board negroes will be permitted to vote unless challenged. If a negro is challenged, all he is required to do is to declare that he expects to affiliate with the Democratic party.

The Shelby County primary board takes a very different view from Texas Democrats on the subject of negro affiliation with the Democratic party.

The Democratic committee of Texas barred negroes from voting in a Democratic primary. The negroes asked for an injunction so that they might vote in the Democratic primary.

The court held that even though the negroes promised to abide by the decision of the primary and support Democratic nominees, the committee had a right to bar them from participation.

The New York Times, under date of July 26, in an editorial entitled "Southern Negro Voting," had the following to say concerning the decision in the Texas case:

> **This is one of the devices whereby negroes are stopped at the first barrier, and it is a very effective barrier because Democratic primaries in states like Texas are virtually elections, since a primary certificate is usually equivalent to election itself. State literacy statutes and other tests effectively prevent most negroes from voting in the south, but after the primary is held without them the right to vote is of little value. That is why they addressed themselves to the primary. This election, however, is national, and if negroes could obtain the vote and support the Republicans, they could easily carry several southern states.**

The Commercial Appeal stands for the right of the white man, the negro, and everyone else, as provided by the Constitution.

The negro is entitled to vote with proper qualification. The election laws apply equally to everyone.

The place for the negro to exercise the right of franchise is in a Republican primary, and in a general election.

The Democratic party is the white man's party in the south.

As the Times points out, white domination in the south is dependent upon keeping negroes out of Democratic primaries.

If the practice in Shelby should extend to other southern states where the negro is in majority, they would be able to control politics and the offices of the south.

The Shelby County machine is showing the negro the way to political domination through participation in Democratic primaries. It is showing him a mirage.

Mr. Stanton goes into detail as to what watchers at the polls may not do. He advises officers of election that watchers have no authority "to try to run the election."

The law also prescribes what a watcher may do. Any candidate may have a watcher at the polls from the time they open until the vote is counted and certified.

He has a right to watch the holding of the election, the counting of votes, and the certification of returns.

He has a right to challenge, question or examine any person who may offer to vote in the primary.

Officers of election are required, upon request, to give the watcher a statement of the vote of each candidate as counted and cast in the precinct.

The watcher has a right to examine the ballots as they are counted. This is the law.

The primary board is more interested in seeing that negroes are protected in their "right" to vote in a white Democratic primary than it is in seeing that watchers placed at the polls to detect crookedness are given the protection of law.

It is galling to the gang to know it cannot cast enough irregular votes in Shelby County to nominate McAlister. Horton will come into Shelby County with a majority that cannot be overcome by fraud or theft.

A woman called The Commercial Appeal yesterday protesting against a captain of police in full uniform ringing her door bells and demanding to know if she was going to vote for McAlister.

The police cannot even intimidate the divekeepers, much less respectable women. Divekeepers have more on the police than the police have on the divekeepers.

Teachers complain that orders are given to attend McAlister meetings and work for him. The women teachers of Memphis are notified that the commissioner of police instructs them to attend McAlister meetings.

Commissioner Davis ought to watch his step.

An editorial in Saturday morning's Commercial Appeal contained an error. The editorial said: "The white man standing with pencil in hand is instructing a negro woman how to mark a ballot for Hill McAlister."

This was an error. The man standing with pencil in hand is a negro instructing a negro woman how to mark a ballot for Hill McAlister.

Suffrage.

Memphis, Tenn. Commercial-Appl.
Sunday, July 29, 1928

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This was an error. The man standing with pencil in hand is instructing a negro woman how to mark a ballot for Hill McAlister.

He was not a white officer of a Democratic primary, but a negro officer of a Republican primary instructing negroes how to vote in a white Democratic primary.

The negro man had a Knight badge on one shoulder and a McAlister badge on the other shoulder. No ballot box was on the table where the negroes were gathered.

The table with the placards of McAlister and Knight was stacked with McAlister cards.

The voting place was inside the house. The negroes voted in the regular election, then voted in the Democratic primary.

At the table shown in the photograph they were handed McAlister cards.

The officer in charge of the Democratic primary was asked why negroes were permitted to vote in the state primary. He stated that the negroes told him they were Democrats and would support the nominee.

There can be no denial that negroes were voted in the Democratic primary. Not only did the gang vote negroes in the primary for McAlister, but stole from John R. Neal even the few votes that were cast for him.

Political 1928 Tennessee

Suffrage.

M'KELLAR FINDS HIM STILL ANOTHER 'BLOC'

—FINIS GARRETT

Says Shelby's Dark "Democrats" Latest Acquisition.

A WORD TO THE UNIONS

"Labor Organizations Refuse to Allow Negroes to Become Members, Will They Let Them Rule Party?" He Asks.

Special to The Commercial Appeal.

COOKEVILLE, Tenn., July 30.—Launching a direct attack upon the Shelby County political machine as the result of the announcement by the board that negroes would not be barred in the coming primary, Finis J. Garrett at Cookeville Monday carried his campaign for the U. S. Senate back into Middle Tennessee. Mr. Garrett spoke to the voters of Putnam County in the courthouse there.

"What are you going to do if the control of the Democratic party passes into the hands of the negro?" queried Mr. Garrett.

"Chairman W. M. Stanton of the Shelby board," he continued, "has at last answered the question directed at him by a Memphis paper as to whether the negroes could vote in the Democratic primary. Mr. Stanton answered that they could. His full reply was published Sunday and it was worded in such a way that it was an invitation for the negroes to vote.

Serious Business.

"This is a great deal more serious than simply a few scattered negroes voting in the primary. There are 51,000 registrants in Shelby County. I have been reliably informed that of this number from 16,000 to 25,000 are negroes.

"Plans are to use this vote as a group or bloc, to corral them and carry them to the voting place. If this is not done their names will simply be transferred from the registration list to the poll list."

"This is the political machine that is supporting Senator McKellar," declared Mr. Garrett. "It is the machine of which Senator McKellar is part and parcel. It is a challenge to the entire Democracy of the state.

"Senator McKellar has been appealing in the main for his support from certain groups or general classes. Let's analyze this appeal in connection with the conduct with Shelby machine. Labor has been appealed to by the senator. He is counting upon organized labor as one of his largest supporting groups. Why the labor unions of this state will not even allow negroes to become members. Are the unions willing to stand by and see the negroes dominate their party?

"Postal employes are being an object for appeal by the senator. Railway mail clerks and other postal employes have always realized the race menace. Are they going to see the negro dominate their party?

"I am not attempting to arouse any race prejudice. I am simply calling attention to the plans of the Shelby group."

Heard by Big Crowd.

Despite the fact that farmers were very busy a large crowd was out to hear Congressman Garrett present his claims for the senatorship. He was introduced by George Haile, Cookeville lawyer.

"Mr. Garrett has proved so able that he has been elected to serve the largest Democratic district in the state as representative for the past 24 years," Mr. Haile said. "He is so able that members of the lower house have selected him for floor leader for the past six years. He is a man who has forgotten politics while considering measures and devoted his time to progressive constructive legislation.

"Finis J. Garrett is a real statesman and not a politician."

"Bombast and ballyhoo," was the characterization Mr. Garrett gave to Senator McKellar's claims to a majority of 60,000 during the coming primary.

"The senator is not expecting to win by such a majority," Mr. Garrett said, "if he was so certain of election, why didn't the machine give me more election officials in Shelby County?

"I presented my list and according to law I should have had an equal representation with other candidates among the officials. There are 174 officials. I was given two judges and 10 clerks."

Supporters in Middle and East Tennessee were assured Monday that Senator McKellar's Shelby majority would not mean that the senator would carry West Tennessee. "I am making no claims to majorities," Mr. Garrett said. "I am simply showing the absurdity of the senator's claims. My home district, the ninth, normally, casts a larger vote than Shelby County. I have thousands of friends and acquaintances in Memphis. Many former residents of my district are living there now. If the election in Shelby County is as honest as the election in the Ninth District my lead in the ninth will be almost twice as large as the senator's in Shelby."

Bureaucrats.

The evils of bureacracy were pictured vividly by Mr. Garrett.

"The increase in federalism means an increase in bureaucrats," he said.

"It will soon be that the most intimate things of your financial and social life are controlled by some minor bureau official five degrees removed from your ballot.

"In all my knowledge of affairs in Congress," he added, "I have never known Senator McKellar to oppose a measure that would increase the power of the federal government at the expense of the state and local government.

"Senator McKellar claims that I am of a negative nature. I have a positive record that I will compare with the senator's, but some times as much good is done by voting no as by voting yes."

Declaration was made by Mr. Garrett and voiced following the speaking by several in the audience that a reaction to Senator McKellar's appeal to groups was already under way.

"Take for instance, the soldiers," Mr. Garrett said. "I dare say I have aided as many soldiers to secure just aid from the government as has Senator McKellar. I have more than 2,000 letters in my files from soldiers who have requested me for aid. Yet I ask not appealing to them for doing what was my duty as a legislator.

"I believe that I can see that soldiers, postal employes, labor and other groups are tiring of Senator McKellar's continuous recital of how he has aided them."

Congressman Garrett speaks Tuesday at 9:30 p.m. over radio station WLAC at Nashville. He will go to Martin in Weakley County, for his final campaign appearance Wednesday night.

Will Mr. Stanton Revoke the Practice of Voting Negroes in Democratic Primaries?

On the second of August there will be held in Tennessee a primary for the nomination of Democratic candidates for United States Senate, governor and other offices.

The law provides that only "known Democrats" shall be permitted to vote in the Democratic primary.

The Commercial Appeal requests Mr. W. M. Stanton, chairman of the Shelby County Democratic primary board, to state whether or not negroes will be permitted to vote in that primary as they were two years ago.

Obviously the purpose in asking the question is to have Mr. Stanton state that negroes will be excluded from participation in the Democratic primary in Shelby County as they are excluded in other counties in the state.

We expect Mr. Stanton to rule that negroes will not be used in the primary in the interest of McAlister for the reason that negroes are not "known Democrats."

We expect Mr. Stanton not only to rule that negroes shall not be permitted to vote in the primary, but to instruct the officers of election to this effect in order that returns from Shelby County may not be declared fraudulent and void.

We expect Mr. Stanton to declare against the customary practice of permitting negroes to vote in white Democratic primaries for the further reason that negroes are "known Republicans."

While the people of Memphis and Shelby County are accustomed to the spectacle of droves of negroes herded to Democratic primaries they are not reconciled to the practice. They still hope for

"HILL! HILL! THE GANG'S ALL HERE!"

better days.

Democrats in other counties of the state are indignant over the thought that votes of white men and women, "known Democrats," are offset by thousands of votes of negroes, "known Republicans," in Shelby County.

Assurance of the limitation of fraud in Shelby County by the exclusion of the negro vote in the primary would be welcome by every believer in justice, fair play and decency.

We hope Mr. Stanton will justify our expectations by ruling adversely to the "colored McAlister Democrats" who probably don't know what the voting is about.

Negroes and Democratic Primaries

The Commercial Appeal two years ago charged that the machine voted thousands of negroes for McAlister in a Democratic primary.

The charge was not denied.

The Commercial Appeal charges the machine with making preparation to vote thousands of negroes for McAlister in Thursday's primary.

That charge is not denied.

The Commercial Appeal demanded to know of the Shelby primary board if negroes would be excluded from participation in the Democratic primary.

After several days' delay a reply was made to the effect that any person, white or black, might vote in the primary, provided that person should declare allegiance to the Democratic party if challenged.

There is no doubt as to what that means.

Out in Texas negroes were excluded from a white Democratic primary and the court sustained the white Democrats.

The difference between Texas Democrats and the Shelby County machine is that Texas Democrats did not want negroes to vote in their primary. The Shelby County machine wants the votes of the negroes in the primary.

The difference between Texas negroes and Shelby County negroes is that Texas negroes wanted to vote in a white primary. Shelby County negroes do not want to vote in a white Democratic primary.

Texas negroes tried to break into the Democratic party. The Shelby County machine herds the negroes and drives them to the polls.

Texas Democrats kept them out. Memphis "Democrats" put them in.

Memphis is operated as a wide open town.

Gambling joints, divekeepers and bootleggers gave the old town a wild time Saturday night.

The town is in the grip of organized vice.

Every intelligent person in Memphis knows what is going on, why it is going on and who is responsible for it.

McAlister is the beneficiary of these conditions. He is expected to prove his gratitude.

McAlister is the tool of the Nashville machine, an organization similar to the local machine. The two were linked together in the worst political scandals that have soiled the pages of Tennessee history.

Tennessee.

Political

Suffrage.

Memphis, Tenn. Commercial Appl.
Tuesday, July 31, 1928

We Oppose Negro Voting In Democratic Primaries

Mr. George Morris,
Vice President, Commercial Publishing Co.,
Memphis, Tennessee.

Re: You Asked One—Now I'll Ask Some.

Dear Sir:

I am directing this open letter to you as vice president of the company which publishes The Commercial Appeal and Evening Appeal because I have authoritative information that you are the local official of the company who directly represents the present Nashville publishers of the two newspapers.

In your four-column editorial of Sunday, July 29, 1928, headed "A Move to Turn the Democratic Party Over to the Negroes," you quoted from an editorial of the New York Times of July 26, 1928, concerning the barring of negroes from the Democratic primaries in the State of Texas, the clear and direct inference or charge being that the Shelby County Primary Board, of which I am chairman, could and would do likewise except for the fact that our board, and I especially want negroes to vote in the Democratic primary of August 2, 1928.

No one knows, or should know, better than you that this inference or charge is utterly false.

The writer of the editorial mentioned deliberately left out and failed to quote that paragraph of the said Times editorial, immediately preceding the one quoted, which clearly states in substance that the Texas Democratic Committee had the right under the Texas primary law "to fix the qualifications for party membership" and that in the exercise of that right under the law the Texas Democratic Committee fixed as a "qualification for membership" in the Democratic party of Texas that a person must be white, thereby barring negroes from voting in same.

The law of Tennessee regulating primaries, which both Chairman E. N. Haston, in his "instructions to precinct officers, and I, in my statement, quoted verbatim (and was published, with deliberately misleading and false headlines, on the front page in the same issue of The Commercial Appeal) expressly fixes the qualifications of voters in all primaries in Tennessee. No authority whatsoever is given the local primary board, whose functions are purely ministerial, to fix in any way the qualifications of voters in said primary. The State Democratic Executive Committee, which becomes the State Democratic Primary Board for the purpose of holding primary elections, has no such authority (as has the Texas committee) and has never tried to assume any.

I gave, as chairman of the local Democratic Primary Board, a definite and clear answer to the question of The Commercial Appeal concerning the eligibility of voters in the coming primary. Now I want The Commercial Appeal to be equally definite and clear in answering some questions of mine. Your paper has always done a lot of mouthing and prating about "law enforcement." Let the public see just how sincere you are about this. Here goes—answer "yes" or "no," and then explain—if you can.

1. Do you believe in the enforcement of all laws?
2. Do you believe in the enforcement of the primary law, especially as to watchers, etc.?
3. If you say (even indirectly or inferentially, as you probably will if you answer at all, in a lot of "boloney" language, from the consequences of which you will later try to escape) that my associates and I on the board should violate the primary law by barring negroes as such from voting, what valid reason can you give why we or anyone else should obey or respect the rest of the primary law, or any other law of the State of Tennessee, or of the United States?

Please publish your replies—if any.

I am making this an open letter so that the public can judge of your sincerity, regardless of whether you throw the original in the ash can or not.

Yours for less bunk and blooey,

WILLIAM M. STANTON,
Chairman, Shelby County Democratic Primary Board.

Mr. Stanton was so nice about answering our questions that we print his letter, and we are going to answer his questions.

We asked Mr. Stanton as chairman of the Shelby County primary board if negroes would be permitted to vote in the Democratic primary for senator and governor.

It took Mr. Stanton several days to frame his answer to our question. He did not make a direct answer. The inference, however, was clear.

It confirmed the general impression that the machine plans to vote negroes in the Democratic primary this year as it voted them for McAlister two years ago.

The public is not interested in personalities. It cares as little for the opinion of the vice president of The Commercial Appeal, Inc., as an individual, as it cares for the opinion of W. M. Stanton as an individual.

We addressed Mr. Stanton as chairman of the primary board. Our answer to Mr. Stanton is the answer of The Commercial Appeal.

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The primary board of Texas fixed as one qualification for participating in the Democratic primary that the voter must be white.

In Tennessee the law fixes the qualification of voters in primaries. The Tennessee law says:

> **No voter shall be eligible to vote in a primary election of any party unless he be a bona fide member of such political party and affiliated therewith, or unless at the time he shall offer to vote he shall declare his allegiance to the political party in which primary he offers to vote and states upon oath, if challenged, that he expects to affiliate with such party in whose primary he is offering to vote.**

Mr. Stanton knows when the law says "no voter shall be eligible to vote in a primary election of any party unless he be a bona fide member of such party and affiliates therewith," that it went as far as a law could go without mentioning color or race.

The Democratic party in the south is traditionally a white man's party.

The Democratic party in Tennessee is a white man's party.

Negroes are not bona fide members of the Democratic party and are not affiliated with it.

There is a duty to observe the spirit as well as the letter of the law.

Mr. Stanton's contention that negroes have a right to vote in a white Democratic primary in Shelby County is at variance with county primary boards in the other 94 counties in the state.

The Shelby County machine is often at variance with the Democratic party in the other counties of Tennessee.

Shelby is the only county in the state that promises to vote thousands of negroes in the primary and give McAlister a fraudulent majority.

Mr. Stanton might as well say that the primary board has no right to prevent an election steal as to say that negroes cannot be barred from voting in a primary.

The law does not specifically say that there must be no stealing, but it provides safeguards for the protection of the ballot.

It does not say that a negro may not vote in a Democratic primary, but that is the intent and purpose of the law. The spirit of the law will be observed in 94 of the 95 counties in Tennessee.

Now as to Mr. Stanton's questions:

1. "Do you believe in the enforcement of all laws?"

Yes.

2. "Do you believe in the enforcement of the primary law, especially as to watchers, etc.?"

Yes.

For the benefit of Mr. Stanton, who quoted only that part of the law which provides what watchers may not do, we quote the whole law on the subject:

> **Any candidate for a primary nomination under this chapter, shall, upon his conferring that authority, either in writing, in person, or by his duly authorized county manager, have from the opening of the polls until the vote shall have been counted and certified, an inspector or watcher of election, who shall have the right to watch the holding of said election, the counting of the votes therein cast and the certification of the returns, such watcher or inspector to have the right to challenge, question, and examine any voter who may offer to vote in said primary election, and upon the request of such inspector or watcher, the officers, judges, and clerks of such election shall give him a statement signed by them setting forth the vote of each candidate as cast and counted in said precinct. Such inspector or watcher shall have the right to examine the ballots as they are counted. Such watchers or inspectors, however, shall not offer or attempt to influence the vote of any elector for or against any candidate, nor shall he interfere with the proper holding and conducting of said election.**

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If the gang permits watchers to remain at the polls and

check up on the contemplated stealing, it will be the first time it has failed to throw them out and stuff the ballot boxes.

3. "If you say (even indirectly or inferentially, as you probably will if you answer at all, in a lot of 'boloney' language, from the consequences of which you will later try to escape) that my associates and I on the board should violate the primary law by barring negroes as such from voting, what valid reason can you give why we or anyone else should obey or respect the rest of the primary law, or any other law of the state of Tennessee, or of the United States."

Mr. Stanton describes the above as a question. We will take his word for it and try to answer it.

In the first place, we do not agree with Mr. Stanton's premise.

We do not agree that exclusion of negroes from white Democratic primaries is a violation of law.

We maintain that participation of negroes in a white Democratic primary is contrary to the spirit, purpose and intent of the law.

Negroes will be barred from participation in Thursday's primary in 94 counties in Tennessee. It is proposed to vote them in droves in Memphis and Shelby County.

Respect for law in the other 94 counties is fully as strong as it is in Memphis and Shelby County.

Mr. Stanton is an authority on history. He knows the story of Reconstruction Days.

White supremacy in the south is dependent upon keeping the Democratic party in power and keeping it white.

If the negroes in Fayette, Haywood and Tipton counties, for example, should successfully assert the right to vote in a Democratic primary (following the leadership of the Shelby County gang which is forcing negroes into a Democratic primary), they would control every political office in those counties.

The Commercial Appeal is a friend of the negro. It insists upon giving him his constitutional rights.

It condemns the refusal to permit negroes to build schools and colleges in Memphis.

It condemns the local practice of using negroes for vicious and illegal purposes in Memphis.

Mr. Stanton thinks he has found a loophole by which negroes may be encouraged to vote in white Democratic primaries.

We say that Mr. Stanton misinterprets the spirit of the law as well as the traditions of the Democratic party and the traditions of the south.

We say further that the purpose to use negroes for the benefit of McAlister in the primary is a shame and a disgrace.

We hope we have made our answers clear.

"Ask me another."

Suffrage.

COURT BARS NEGRO DEMOCRATS!

Negro Democrats of Houston and Texas received a severe shock and rude jolt last week, when Federal Judge J. C. Hutcheson, Jr., of the Southern Texas United States District Court and Judge Duval West of the Western Texas United States District Court upheld the action of the Democratic party executive committee in barring black Democrats from the party primary election of July 28 and the run-off primary of August 25.

Since the United States Supreme Court, in the Nixon case appealed from El Paso, held that the Democratic party primary election held in Texas is tantamount to an election, the decision of these two federal judges was a keen disappointment to Negro Democrats and colored citizens generally.

The court held that political parties have the right to prescribe the qualifications of their constituents, and that the state and county executive committees of such partisan organizations are neither agencies nor agents of the state, and thus no legal rights of the race had been infringed or invaded by the state in barring Negroes from such party elections.

In the Nixon case the state had a civil statute which specifically stipulated that under no circumstances should a Negro be permitted to vote in a Democratic party primary election in Texas, and if a Negro should vote in such elections, his vote would be null and void and should not be counted nor considered by election officials.

When the highest legal tribunal in the country outlawed and invalidated that state statute, the Texas legislature passed another law empowering executive committees of political parties to grant the right of suffrage in such party primary elections to such citizens as they deemed eligible or worthy to cast a ballot at such elections in this state; and it was under this statutory provision that the Democratic party leaders excluded Negroes from the recent primary election.

In the face of the Democratic party action and court ruling, our black Democratic colleagues, who have been whooping it up for Al Smith and his jackass party, are placed in a very embarrassing position; for the state and sectional leaders of the donkey party have told the Negroes in no uncertain tones and in language that even a child can understand, that they are neither wanted nor desired in the Democratic party household.

The Informer wonders if these black Democrats really know "what it is all about" in their proffered support of Governor Smith and Senator Robinson, Democratic nominees for president and vice-president, respectively, of the United States, when the hostile attitude of that party towards the Negro is so traditionally well known!

Suppose the Democratic national ticket is victorious at the November election and some untoward and unfortunate incident should transpire and the Arkansas senator should become chief executive of the republic, how would the black race fare with such a Negrophobe in the presidential chair?

When the Democratic vice-presidential candidate was running for governor of Arkansas several years ago, he went over the state raising the "race issue" and literally rode into office and power by denouncing, deriding and decrying the black race; yet some of these black people, who can so soon forget and forgive wrongs perpetrated upon them by scheming and designing politicians, now claim that they are perfectly willing to help elect such a Dixie demogogue to the second highest elective office in the country.

If a Negro can not be a Democrat in a primary election held by that party, how can he be a Democrat in a national election?

If the Negro is denied the right to participate in a Democratic party primary election, where state, county and city officials are elected, by what course of logic can he consistenly and conscientiously support and vote for the presidential an dvice-presidential standard-bearer of the Democratic party in a national election?

If the Democrats have the political and constitutional right to exclude citizens from their partisan activities because of "color, creed or previous condition of servitude," we wonder why the party leaders do not ban Mexicans, Italians, Greeks and other foreign elements from participation in such primary elections?

Can any citizen style himself as a Democrat, when that party denies him the right to cast a vote in its primary elections, and tiously support and vote for the presidential and vice-presidenand other undesirables outlawed by the statutes of the state and nation?

It is to be regretted that the Negro race is the only minority group in America which is forced to wage almost incessant legal battles for the enjoyment and exercise of the same rights and prerogatives vouchsafed to all American citizens; being the only racial contingent continually victimized by class legislation of a pernicious and vicious type, based wholly and solely on the ground of color.

WHAT A DIFFERENCE A FEW DAYS MAKE

POLITICAL PREPAREDNESS

All Texans, white or colored, who do not pay the poll tax o secure an exemption certificate before midnight of January 31 1929, will be ineligible to vote in any election during 1929. Thi applies to female, and well as male, citizens.

In view of this fact and the further fact that the major portion of the poll tax money is employed for educational purposes The Informer sounds its annual warning to our people to qualify as American citizens by paying the poll tax or securing an exemption certificate within the period prescribed by law.

While this is an off-year, politically speaking, it is impossible to predict or foretell what may transpire in this city during 192 where the qualified voters will be asked to cast their ballots either for or against the propositions.

There will be a city election in April, when the mayor, four city commissioners and city controller will be elected; and the fact that they were nominated in the democratic primary during last December, should not deter our people from getting ready to vote in the general election of the spring.

"There's many a slip betwixt the cup and lip," runs an age-old adage, and in this day of strange political upheavals and conditions, no one can foresee what political developments may take place, even in "Heavenly Houston," during 1929.

It is better to be safe than sorry, and to be on the safe side suggests that our people qualify in large numbers for the exercise **of their elective franchise rights during next year; and the time** is very brief for fulfilling this oblgation of citizenship.

Since no man or woman is a citizen, from a statutory viewpoint without a poll tax receipt or exemption certificate obtained before January 31 of the year, let us qualify as citizens by paying our poll tax or securing our exemption certificates now!

HOUSTON, TEX.

Negro Vote Decision Studied All Over U.S.

The opinion of Judge J. C. Hutcheson, filed July 11, denying negroes the right to vote in the democratic primaries on the ground that political parties are voluntary associations, empowered to set the qualifications of their members, is much in demand by attorneys throughout the country.

Some 100 copies of the opinion have been furnished by the district clerk to attorneys from California to Maine. The latest was mailed Friday to a leading law firm of Richmond, Va.

Political - 1928

Suffrage

DALLAS, TEX.

News

JUL 24 1928

Negro Voting Case Is Again Delayed

SAN ANTONIO, Texas, July 23. (AP).—A ruling on the right of negroes to vote in the Bexar County primary next Saturday was again delayed when the case was called in Federal Court Monday. Attorneys for Jack Burke, County Clerk, asked for time in which to study an amended petition for a restraining injunction which was presented by attorneys for J. G. Wimberly, the plaintiff.

Wimberly's amended petition names, in addition to Burke, County Chairman John K. Webber, Governor Moody, Attorney General Claude Pollard and D. W. Wilcox, chairman of the State executive committee, as parties to the action. A hearing is expected Tuesday.

DALLAS, TEX.

News

JUL 24 1928

Ban on Negro Vote Upheld

Party Is Like Any Other Public Association, Judge Rules.

Special to The News.

HOUSTON, Texas, July 23.—The action of the State Democratic executive committee in barring negroes from the Democratic primary on July 28 was upheld late Monday by Federal Judge J. C. Hutcheson.

His decision was made in denying the petition of R. D. Evans, negro attorney of Waco, for an injuction restraining Harris County election judges from refusing to allow the negroes to vote next Saturday.

He declared that the Democratic party was like any other public association and that it had the power and right to say who could and could not take part in its primary elections.

"I have concluded that the parties show no invasion of their legal rights," Judge Hutcheson said. "I rest the decision in the case on the conclusion that the plaintiff's failed to show any legal rights of theirs have been invaded or infringed.

"With the defendant's position in the matter I wholly agree, for I know of no principle, neither have I found or been cited to any authority which affirms the proposition that the maintenance of the business as such of political parties is any proper matter for public or governmental concern.

"This view found support not only in law but in the history of this country, and always will find support while free institutions are maintained. That the public has an interest in the lawful and proper conduct of elections is, of course, and undoubted, and that for their proper regulation to secure a fair and orderly choice the State has free power to preside, no one denies.

"It is quite another thing, however, to say that the action of political parties through their governing boards is or may be directed by the State or that the governing committees can in any sense said to be acting as officials of the State. The action of being complained of by the plaintiffs being purely party action, the holding is universal that like any other voluntary association they may select or reject members whom they will."

Evans filed his petition in behalf of J. B. Grigsby and O. P. DeWalt, Houston negroes. He claimed that the barring of negroes violated the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the United States Constitution.

Eve

REPUBLICAN

Meadville - Pa

JUL 20 1928

Claiming "control" of 350,000 votes in Texas, a white man and one Negro Republican, "leaders" in that State, are reported to have declared themselves for Governor Smith. The Smith opposition will be glad to know just what they have to overcome, even if 350,000 is a large number. But possibly their "control" is not quite that big.

NEWS

Bourbon - Ky

JUL 20 1928

O'Hara says the negroes of Texas will vote for Al Smith, though he is the Democratic nominee. The negroes of Texas who vote for Al Smith (and some of them will) will support him because they have been led to believe that Al Smith's election means the return of plenty of liquor. Liquor is the only thing that has greater attraction for the average negro than the Republican party. Liquor is the one thing that will win the wet Republicans in the East from the Republican party. On liquor, and liquor alone, Al Smith bases his hopes of election. It is a vain hope.

TEXAS DEFIES LAW

In spite of the ruling of the United States supreme court last year that no state has a right to pass laws which discriminate against United States citizens at the polls, a federal judge sitting at Houston has decided that this does not apply to the Democratic party primaries. Judge J. C. Hutcheson has ruled that the Democratic party has the right to exclude all persons not white from participating in the nominating primaries.

This decision was rendered on the strength of the fact that the federal Constitution has no jurisdiction over purely party affairs which have to do directly with nominating. It was argued that since the Constitution makes no provision for party primaries, it is not being violated when the Democratic party limits its membership to white people and concerns itself with nominating only. This argument, while true in a sense, attempts to hide the real fact that a nomination in Texas is virtually an election.

The case will go to the United States supreme court for a special ruling which will not be heard until after the final elections in November. This is just another way of defying the law. It is just another way Texas has of saying that she will support only that part of the United States Constitution which meets her approval. And in this case a judge, paid by funds out of the federal treasury, is the instrument through which Texas has chosen to acquaint the world of her attitude toward the basic law of the land.

It begins to appear that southern states no longer find it necessary to resort to subterfuges about their vote laws. They pass them in open violation of the Constitution and set about to enforce them in defiance of what our high court has to say about them. They are more high-handed in their procedure now than they have ever been before. And yet it is the South that cries so loudly that the 18th amendment to the Constitution be enforced. America, as has been said before, is a strange country of contradictions. It is a country where a citizen is a citizen only if he is white.

BROOKLYN EAGLE

JUL 25 1928

TEXAS AND HER BLACK DEMOCRATS.

All offices in Texas for a long series of years have been filled by persons whom Democratic primaries have chosen. Election day has meant merely a ratification of the nominations. In effect no citizen has had the rights of citizenship unless he were a primary voter. Now the negro Democrat down there may be a rare blackbird, but he is not extinct. And when four years ago the State Legislature enacted a law permitting his exclusion from Democratic primaries, one colored man carried the case of his race clear up to the Supreme Court of the United States with the financial assistance of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Early in 1927 the highest court in the land decided for the negro in the case of Nixon vs. Herndon.

Whereupon the Texas Legislature tried to dodge the decision by a new law granting to the executive committee of either party the right to fix the qualifications of primary voters, and the Democratic Executive Committee at once adopted a resolution barring negroes. Now a negro, J. B. Grigsby of Houston, demanding injunction relief against the virtual defiance of a Supreme Court decision, is refused such relief by Federal Judge J. C. Hutcheson Jr. "I have not found or been cited to any authority," says the Judge, "which affirms the proposition that the constitution and maintenance of the business, as such, of political parties is any proper matter of public or governmental control." And at San Antonio, equity proceedings brought on the same grounds by J. C. Wimberly, a negro attorney, are ruled out of court by Federal Judge Duval West.

Of course, the two decisions are calculated to aid the Lily White Hoover Republicans in holding the negro vote in Texas, gravely claimed for Smith by two important leaders of the negro Republicans. They revive the sentiment against Democrats as Democrats. They will be appealed. The Supreme Court is not in the habit of having its rulings dodged. But the present campaign will be over before any final decision is possible.

NEW YORK TIMES

JUL 25 1928

COURT BARS NEGRO IN TEXAS PRIMARY

Federal Judge at Houston Upholds Democrats in Injunction Case.

FINDS NO INFRINGEMENT

Other Suits in South Expected, All Eventually Going to the Supreme Bench.

Special to The New York Times.

HOUSTON, Texas, July 24.—Political parties may prescribe their own membership qualifications and the Democratic party therefore can bar negroes from its primaries, Judge J. C. Hutcheson Jr., of Federal District Court here, held in denying an injunction in the case of J. B. Grigsby, negro, against Guy Harris, chairman of the Harris County Democratic Executive committee.

Grigsby, who filed an application for injunction in behalf of all members of his race in the county, had asked that the executive committee and election officials be restrained from barring negroes from the state and county primary elections on July 28. His petition alleges that a resolution of the State Executive Committee barring negroes is contrary to the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

Attorneys for Grigsby, immediately after the decision was made known, announced they would take the case to the United States Supreme Court for a decision. The case, they said, is a test to determine whether the Democratic Party in Texas and other Southern States where a victory in the Democratic primary virtually is equal to election, may bar negroes from voting and indirectly deprive them of a vote in the choice of State and county officials.

A statute of the State, in which power to regulate membership in political parties was delegated to the party officials and the State Executive Committees was attacked in the petition for injunction on the ground that it made the Executive Committees agents of the tSate.

Commenting on his part of the injunction suit, Judge Hutcheson in his opinion said:

"With defendant's position in the matter I wholly agree, for I know of no principle, neither have I found or been cited to any authority, which affirms the proposition that the constitution, and maintenance of the business, as such, of political parties is any proper matter or public or governmental concern.

"This view finds support, not only in the law, but in the history of this country and always will find support while free institutions are maintained.

"That the public has an interest in the lawful and proper conduct of primary elections, is, of course, undoubted and that for their proper regulation to secure a fair and orderly choice the State has full power to provide, no one denies."

The action attacked in the suit of the negroes, Judge Hutcheson held, being purely party action, infringed no legal right of the negroes and on this fact he based his decision refusing the injunction.

"The action complained of by plaintiffs," he said, "being purely party action as to which the holding is universal, that like other voluntary associations they have complete delectus personarum and may select or reject as members whom they will, it is unnecessary to decide the second point, whether, if the plaintiff's rights had been invaded, equity could grant relief, other than to say that the point is greatly in doubt, the books being full of cases declaring the doctrine that equity is concerned only with matters of property and the maintenance of civil rights and will not interfere for the protection of rights which are merely political."

Citing Supreme Court cases in which political parties have been held agencies apart from governmental bodies and regulations, Judge Hutcheson asserted that "political parties are political instrumentalities and are in no sense governmental instrumentalities." On this holding he rejected the plea of the petition that a so-called "white man's primary" is contrary to constitutional guarantees of franchise.

The Democratic party in Texas in years past by various methods successfully has barred negroes from participation in its primaries.

When a state law barring negroes was passed by the legislation and later declared unconstiutional in a Supreme Court decision, the law was repealed and a new statute enacted delegated to the Executive Committee power to fix membership qualifications.

By resolution since, the committee has barred the negoes, regardless of whether they otherwise were qualified voters.

The negroes involved in the case in which Judge Hutcheson handed down the decision contended they were Democrats and that they would support Democratic nominess, including Governor Smith of New York.

Similar Decision in San Antonio.

SAN ANTONIO, Texas, July 24 (AP).—Another decision sustaining the right of Democratic Party organizations to bar negroes from the Democratic primary in Texas was handed down here today in Federal Court.

Judge Duval West denied an application for a temporary restraining order which would prevent election officials from refusing Democratic ballots to negroes. The order was sought by J. G. Wimberly, a negro attorney, who was denied an absentee ballot on the strength of a resolution, adopted by the Bexar County Democratic Executive Committee, excluding negroes from the Democratic primary.

A decision similar to Judge West's was handed down in Houston yesterday by Federal Judge J. C. Hutcheon Jr., who held that political parties may prescribe qualifications of members.

NEW YORK TIMES

JUL 26 1928

SOUTHERN NEGRO VOTING.

That the Democratic anti-Smith movement in the South may make the question of negro voting more acute than for years is indicated by the activity of Texas negroes in trying to find a way in which to obtain political privileges. The theory behind Democratic white solidarity in the Southern States has always been the necessity of opening no space for the wedge of negro voting. Now that the "Solid South" is threatened by Bishop CANNON and his associates, many negroes naturally see a possible opportunity to gain support in their desire to participate in primaries and elections.

The Texas negroes asked for an injunction against the Democratic Party committees so that they might vote in the Democratic primaries. They had been barred by the committee under private powers (which the Court sustained) to fix the qualifications for party membership. The Court agreed that the committee is in no sense a Government agency, and that the Texas statute conferring upon it as such the right to make membership qualifications is unsound. But as a political agency its rights are clear, thought the Court, and, even though the negroes promised to abide by the decision of the primary and support Democratic nominees, the opinion sustained the act of the committee in barring them from participation.

This is one of the devices whereby negroes are stopped at the first barrier, and it is a very effective barrier because Democratic primaries in States like Texas are virtually elections, since a primary certificate is usually equivalent to election itself. State literacy statutes and other tests effectively prevent most negroes from voting in the South, but after the primary is held without them the right to vote is of little value. That is why they addressed themselves to the primary. This election, however, is national, and if negroes could obtain the vote and support the Republicans, they could easily carry several Southern States. They are looking more and more to the evangelical clergymen and laymen, and to the militant Drys, to help them in getting to the polls, since there would be no more effective way to defeat Governor SMITH than to carry Southern States for Mr. HOOVER.

The probability is—and that is what is behind much of the confidence in Southern Democratic victory expressed at headquarters here by Senator HARRISON of Mississippi—that the rising negro activity will bring out a large white vote and checkmate any possible danger. However, the Fifteenth Amendment may be in for a real test in the next few years.

BRONX, N. Y.
NORTH SIDE NEWS

JUL 29 1928

NEGRO SUFFRAGE IS IMPORTANT AS DRY LAW, LEADER SAYS

Bronx Colored Voters' Head Says Law Is Uninforced

The enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution, which give to negroes the rights of citizenship and suffrage, were declared to be as important as the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment by Eugene McIntosh, executive member of the Bronx Colored Voters' Democratic Progressive Association, of 360 East 165th St. Mr. McIntosh directed this expression of his views to Bishop Cannon, Jr., of the Southern Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Rev. Arthur J. Barton, of Atlanta, leaders at the recent Asheville, N. C., conference of dry Southern Democrats, which declared for Herbert Hoover for President, and against Governor Smith.

Mr. McIntosh's letter to these clergymen read:

"As you are organizing the Southern States against Governor Smith because of his views on prohibition, I want to ask whether you consider prohibition the chief issue in the coming campaign.

"If you do, then surely you are straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel so long as you say nothing about the violation of the spirit of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments by the Southern States.

"Prohibition may be a good thing, but the Eighteenth Amendment cannot be a major issue in this campaign while the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution remain unenforced."

DALLAS, TEX.
News

JUL 13 1928

Will Hear Dispute on Negro Voting July 21

Special to The News.

HOUSTON, Texas, July 12.—Hearing on a petition filed Wednesday to restrain Harris County election officials from preventing negroes from voting in the Democratic primaries has been set for July 21, a week before the primary elections July 28, before Judge J. C. Hutcheson in Federal Court, it was learned Thursday.

R. D. Evans, negro attorney of Waco, filed a petition in Federal Court for an injunction restraining Guy Harris, chairman of the Harris County Democratic executive committee, and election judges of all the precincts in the county from preventing negroes from participating in the primary and in the run-off of Aug. 25.

A resolution barring negroes from the primary and the run-off was passed at a meeting of the State executive committee at Waco on June 11. Evans said that he represents the Independent Colored Voters' League.

Political- 1928.

Suffrage.

TEXAS NEGROES ARE CHALLENGED!

That the efforts of the Independent Colored Voters' League of Texas, under the leadership of Judge R. D. Evans, prominent attorney of Waco, are being directed along the proper lines, and that the movement is a worthy one and entitled to the full endorsement of every Negro citizen in Texas, is attested by the fact that editors and citizens in other states of the country are speaking in commendatory and complimentary terms of the league's activities to roll up 200,000 qualified colored voters in this state for 1928.

While the league has taken the initiative in this campaign and has issued a public statement and address to the colored citizenry of Texas—urging them to perform their duty as citizens of the state, and stressing the importance of not only qualifying so as to vote in all the elections of 1928, but also citing attention to the fact that out of every $1.75 paid for poll tax in Texas, $1 of said sum goes into the public educational fund of the state, and thus comes back to the race and society in the form of free public schools and free text-books for all scholastics, regardless of race, creed or class—it is up to leaders in their respective communities to organize their local forces and conduct intensive drives from now until January 31, 1928, in an endeavor to get large numbers of our people to fulfill this civic obligation.

EVEN IF THERE IS SOME NEGRO IN THIS STATE WHO DOES NOT CARE TO EXERCISE OR ENJOY HIS ELECTIVE FRANCHISE RIGHT, HE OWES IT TO HIS RACE, STATE AND THE SOCIAL ORDER TO ENLARGE THE PUBLIC EDUCATIONAL FUND OF THIS STATE AND THEREBY HELP REDUCE ILLITERACY.

WITH A POPULATION IN TEXAS VARIOUSLY ESTIMATED AT 700,000 TO 775,000, THE NEGROES OF THE LONE STAR STATE COMMONWEALTH WILL CERTAINLY BE RECREANT TO THEIR HOLDEN DUTY IF LESS THAN 200,000 QUALIFY AS FULL-FLEDGED CITIZENS FOR 1928.

This promises to be a notable year, politically and otherwise, and no man, who has one iota of interest in his race, state and country, should shirk from his duty in this respect; and, after he has qualified as an elector, he should be patriotic and courageous enough to wield his ballot on election days for the best interests of his race, his party, his state and his common country.

In Texas the same and only law which seeks to disfranchise Negroes is employed and invoked alike upon all races; for no man or woman—African, Nordic, Mexican, Japanese, Chinaman or whatnot—can cast a ballot, under the state statute in Texas, who has not paid the poll tax or secured an exemption certificate prior to February 1, of the year in which he desires to vote.

HERETOFORE THERE HAVE BEEN OTHER PARTISAN AND POLITICAL PROHIBITIONS AGAINST THE "BROTHER," BUT THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT HAS OUTLAWED AND INVALIDATED SUCH DISCRIMINATORY MEASURES, AND THUS THE TEXAS NEGRO IS POLITICALLY EMANCIPATED!

This newer emancipation will mean very little to our group in this state, if we fail or refuse to measure up to the requirements of citizenship and execute our civic, partisan and political tasks and duties like other citizens of this commonwealth.

The bourbon practice of browbeating and intimidating Negro voters and of denying and refusing them the free and full exercise of their constitutional rights, is passe in Texas, except in some of the smaller communities and jerk-water stations; and the Negro who is too timid or cowardly to qualify as an elector and then function at the polls as an American citizen, is a millstone around our racial neck. (The Great Teacher in the Holy Writ tells what disposition should be made of millstones of such type and character.)

The Informer urges our ministers to devote a little time at each service, or delegate some laymen in the role, to stress the importance of our people paying the poll tax; and, wherever it is possible, some colored man should get an appointment as deputy tax collector for the express purpose of seeing to it that Texas Negroes do not shirk in meeting their civic obligations and shouldering their responsibilities of citizenship.

The Independent Colored Voters' League of Texas, which is not a partisan organization, has sensed the real situation and has outlined a course of action which is calculated and destined to bring the Negroes of this state into a better day—if our people will follow the league's lead and advice.

The old axiom has it that Opportunity only knocks at one's door once, and, if not bidden to enter, she makes her departure rather hastily.

Sister Opportunity is knocking at and on the door of the Texas Negroes with a large sledge hammer—in fact, she is knocking so loud and long that residents in other states are hearing her healthy taps and raps, figuratively ruminating.

Not only is Opportunity knocking heftily and lustily at the racial portal of Texas Negroes, but she is issuing a challenge to colored Texans and daring them to accept her defy, lest happily they come in possession of larger citizenship rights!

SHALL WE HEED THE KNOCK AND ACCEPT THE CHALLENGE BY QUALIFYING IN LARGE NUMBERS AS VOTERS BEFORE MIDNIGHT OF JANUARY 31, 1928, OR WILL WE BE WAFTED TO SLEEP BY THE SIREN SONG OF APATHY, INDIFFERENCE, LETHARGY AND MORAL COWARDICE AND THUS PERPETUATE OURSELVES IN CIVIC BONDAGE AND POLITICAL SERFDOM?

The matter is squarely up to the Negroes of Texas, and whatever the outcome or result, they will be unable to blame anyone but themselves; for "the fault is not in our stars, but in ourselves that we are underlings."

COLORED TEXANS (MEN AND WOMEN), PAY YOUR POLL TAX RIGHT NOW!

Journal
Dallas Tex

MAR 24 1928

URGE NEGROES TO EXERCISE VOTING RIGHT

NONPARTISAN GROUP IS FORMED TO INFORM MEMBERS OF RACE.

Participation of negro voters in Texas elections in which they are entitled to cast their ballots was urged by speakers at a meeting of the Independent Negro Voters' League of Texas at the negro Pythian Temple on Elm street Saturday morning.

The league is strictly nonpartisan, it was declared by C. F. Richardson of Houston, secretary of the organization. R. D. Evans of Waco presided at the meeting.

Negro voters will be informed on the political issues involved at the various elections, under a program mapped out at the conference to stimulate interest of negro voters in good citizenship.

The delegates were welcomed by Prof. J. W. Evans of Dallas, with Chairman Evans responding. Melvin J. Chisum of Chicago, representing a national organization working for improvement of negro citizenship, addressed the meeting.

DALLAS, TEX.

Journal

MAR 20 1928

NEGRO V[illegible]S TO MEET.

A State-wide [illegible]eeting of the Texas negro voters, under the auspices of the Independent Negro Voters' League of Texas, will be held Saturday at the Pythian Temple at 10:30 a. m. According to the official announcement the rally will be held principally "to lay definite plans for a course of political actioin on the part of Texas negroes in the conventions and elections of 1928." R. D. Evans of Waco is president of the organization and C. F. Richardson of Houston is secretary-treasurer.

FIGHT BASED ON TEX. WHITE PRIMARY CASE

Retain Attorneys to Carry Their Fight to Court

If We Are Good Enough to Fight for Our Country, We Are Good Enough to Vote In It, Citizens Say.

NEW YORK, May 16—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is keeping close watch on the fight against the disfranchisement of colored people in the Southern States. Colored citizens of Pensacola, Fla., are vigorously prosecuting the fight against the attempt to maintain the white primary there.

Basing their fight on the decision won by the N. A. A. C. P. last year in the Texas White Primary case before the U. S. Supreme Court, the Escambia County Voters League, which registered 1500 colored people for the Democratic primary, has now retained attorneys to carry their fight to court.

A circular issued by the Voters League and forwarded to the N. A. A. C. P. says in part:

"Taking the correct decision of the U. S. Supreme Court, relative to voting in the primary at face value, we are determined to have the law applied in Florida.—We believe that political freedom is as essential as economic freedom and the right to vote for any party of our choice should not be denied us. We had no choice but to fight in the World War, and we believe that if we were good enough to fight for our country, we are good enough to vote in it."

Won't Retreat

"If those in authority in state and city have the right to say how much our taxes shall be and for what expended, and they have that right, then we, as part of the citizenry of the state, who help to supply those taxes, believe that we have a right to say whether we want those in authority or some one else. These are the questions that are at the bottom of our right to vote and not our color, and upon this we take our stand and shall not retreat. The fight is on and our case is in court of first instance where it will soon be heard."

The national office of the N. A. A. C. P. is keeping in close touch with the developments through N. A. Jones, president of the Pensacola branch of the N. A. A. C. P., and A. M. Johnson, president of the Escambia Voters' League.

Texans Plan To Bar Group From Primary Elections

NEW YORK. — Despite the clear pronouncement of the United States Supreme Court, holding primary elections part of the machinery of voting and prohibiting the barring of Negroes by state enactment, Texas politicians are now planning to exclude them from the primaries in that State.

After the Texas White Primary law was held unconstitutional, the Texas legislature placed power to fix qualifications for voters in the hands of the state executive committees of the various parties.

The San Antonio Express estimates that between 4,000 and 5,000 Negroes will be barred from the polls in Bexar County alone, where the state chairman has written to the county chairman declaring himself in favor of barring Negroes.

In the opinion of attorneys of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, this new form of disfranchisement will also be outlawed by the Supreme Court if it should have to be carried before that tribunal

WHITE MAN'S PRIMARY AGAIN

That the decision of the United States Supreme Court affecting the primary law in the South has not rendered Southern autocrats helpless in their effort to disfranchise the Negro, is seen in the fight which has devolved upon the Escambia County Voters' League of Florida, in order to resist the attempt to maintain the white man's primary in that state. This league registered 1,500 colored people for the Democratic primary, and has shown a determination to carry the fight into the courts. According to a circular issued by the league, they are taking the recent decision of the Supreme Court at face value and are determined to have the law applied in their own state.

Texas is seeking to circumvent the decision through the medium of another state law which was passed by its Legislature, empowering the state Democratic executive committee to name the qualifications of all voters in the primary election. Whatever means will be employed to determine the qualifications and enforce this law. has not yet been exposed. At this writing, according to an announcement made public by the Bexar County chairman, in consideration of the state law, and on the strength of a communication from T. W. Wilcox, chairman of the state committee, he is confident that the Negro vote will be barred. The statement further specified that this question will be taken up on June 11 when the committee meets at Waco, and continues: "Wilcox declared that he is opposed to the Nrgro voting in the primary, and believes his views are held by the other members of the committee."

What resistance the Negroes of Texas will put forth against this latest move can scarcely be determined before definite action has been taken by the state executive committee. At any rate, the next step on the part of the Negro must be made quickly and with precision. But any lack of unity within the Negro ranks will surely tend to lessen his chances against the opposition in this fight.

General indifference evokes our greatest apprehension. The manifestation of a far-reaching effort on the part of Texas Negroes to withstand this onslaught against his citizenship rights would serve to his greatest immediate advantage. Still, seemingly, he is yet to be awakened to the urgency of this need.

This fight against the Negro political freedom portrays the utmost moral cowardice, a weakness that is decidedly against the aggressor. The Negro, whose cause is a cause of justice and equity, can surely break down a resistance so undermined by moral weakness; but in order to meet the odds in this struggle, "a solid phalanx" must be the watchword.

HOUSTON PLANS TO TEST WHITE PRIMARY LAW

Negroes Seek Ballot In Democratic Election Which Takes Place July 28

FEDERAL COURT AID SOUGHT IN ISSUE

N. A. A. C. P. And Other Agencies Back Injunction Suit Slated Saturday

Houston, Texas.—J. B. Grigsby Presdent of the American Mutual Benefit Association, and O. P. DeWalt, President of the local N. A. A. C. P. branch, filed a bill of complaint here Wednesday to enjoin the members of the Democratic Executive Committee from enforcing that ruling which provides that only white Democrats can vote in the state, district and county primaries which are to be held here Saturday, July 28.

Ruling Violates Rights

The bill alleges that plaintiffs are citizens and residents of Harris County, Texas, and of the United States, and that they are of the Democratic political faith; that the ruling of the state Democratic executive committee excluding them from voting in the primary election to be held on July 28, violates thier constitutional rights guaranteed to them by the 14th and 15th amendments to the constitution of the United States; and that the defendants should be enjoined from enforcing the ruling.

To Show Cause

The case has been set down by Federal Judge J. C. Hutcheson, Jr., for hearing Saturday, July 21, at which time the defendants are required to show cause, if any they have, why the injunction should not be issued as prayed for by plaintiffs.

Must Be White

One of the statutes passed by the Texas Legislature which purports to give to the state executive, committee the power to fix the qualifications for voting in primary elections is that the voter must be white.

NEGROES BARRED FROM DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY IN TEXAS

San Antonio, Texas, July 24.—(AP) Another decision sustaining the right of democratic organizations to bar negroes from the democratic primary in Texas was handed down here today in federal court.

Judge Duval West denied an application for a temporary restraining order which would prevent election officials from refusing democratic ballots to negroes. The order was sought by J. G. Wimberly, a negro attorney, who was denied an absentee ballot on the strength of a resolution adopted by the Bexar county democratic executive committee excluding negroes from the democratic primary.

A decision similar to Judge West's was handed down in Houston yesterday by Federal Judge J. C. Hutcheon, Jr., who held that political parties may prescribe qualifications of members.

DEMOCRATIC BAR OF NEGROES HELD LEGAL IN TEXAS

Houston, Texas, July 23.—(AP)—Negroes will be barred from the democratic primaries in Harris county by the decision today by Federal Judge J. C. Hutcheson of an injunction asked by J. B. Grigsby, negro, against Guy Harris, chairman of the county executive committee, which barred negroes from voting.

Judge Hutcheson held that political parties may prescribe qualifications of members, and declared in his opinion that no legal right of the negroes was nullified by barring them from democratic primary elections.

The injunction suit attacked state statutes delegating right to fix qualifications of membership of the democratic party to the state executive committee as contrary to the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the federal constitution.

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N. A. A. C. P. PUTS UP $4,000 FOR TEXAS

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has retained Fred C. Knollenberg of El Paso, Texas, the attorney who laid the groundwork for the celebrated White Primary Case victory before the United States Supreme Court, to fight the newest form of disfranchisement of Negroes in Texas.

When the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional the Texas law barring colored voters from the Democratic primaries, the whites people sought to accomplish the same end by a law placing in the hands of the state committees the power to determine who shall have the privilege of voting in the primaries. Thus, instead of a law barring voters from the primaries the Democratic state committee enacted a rule that no Negro should vote.

This new dodge is being challenged by the N. A. A. C. P. precisely as was the White Primary law. Dr. L. A. Nixon offered himself as a fully qualified Democratic voter and was refused a ballot. The N. A. A. P. C. has now retained Mr. Knollenberg to carry this case up to and through the United States Supreme Court, pledging itself to pay a fee of $2,500 and necessary expenses up to the sum of $1,500.

Since the White Primary decision by the Supreme Court many southern states, prevented from barring Negroes by law, have tried the experiment of having state party committees pass rules against their voting. The Texas case, therefore, like the White Primary case, will serve as a precedent for similar situations throughout the southern states. The N. A. A. C. P. confidently expects that o nthe basis of the White Primary decision, the Supreme Court will outlaw the new subterfuge.

BOLTERS CLAIM 250,000 VOTES ARE CONTROLLED

Two Republican Leaders In Lone Star State Announce Support of the Democratic Nominee.

O'MAR AND M'DONALD HEAD THE MOVEMENT

G. O. P. Bolt Announced As Texas Drys Assemble to Voice Protest Against Gov. Smith.

DALLAS, Texas, July 16.—(AP)—Two Republicans leaders of Texas today announced a bolt to the standard of Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York, while on the other side of the political fence Democratic bolters gathered here for a conference tomorrow at which plans for a fight on the Democratic presidential nominee will be formulated.

J. M. O'Hara, organization manager of the state Republican committee, which backed an uninstructed delegation to the Republican national convention and W. M. (Gooseneck Bill) McDonald, negro Republican leader, announced at Fort Worth that they would throw their support to Governor Smith. They declared they controlled 250,000 votes in Texas.

Anti-Smith Conferences

Meanwhile prominent Democrats, who have announced they would not vote for the New York governor because of his views on prohibition and his Tammany connections held a series of conferences here in preparation for tomorrow's anti-Smith rally.

As the sponsors of the rally announced their only fight is against Governor Smith for president and that they were not taking sides the primary campaign for state offices, it was understood no state candidates would be permitted to take part in the program.

Proposal for an allegiance between anti-Smith Democrats and the regular Republican organiztion headed by R. B. Creager, Republican national committeeman, is expected to be threshed out at the meeting.

The Republican faction led by Creager, whose Hoover-instructed delegation was seated at the national convention in Kansas City over the protest of a delegation backed by O'Hara, McDonald, C. C. Littleton, of Fort Worth and Representative Harry M. Wurzbach, the state's only Republican congressman, was reported today not to be in favor of putting a candidate in the field against the Democratic nominee for governor.

G. O. P. Candidate.

On the other hand the Littleton group was preparing to offer a candidate for the governorship. Littleton resigned from the state executive committee last week because he could not agree with its policies.

O'Hara declared in a statement that "under the leadership of R. B. Creager, national committeeman, patronage peddling in Texas has been more pronounced than has been shown in the senate investigation in Mississippi."

He condemned what he termed the expenditures of "huge sums of money and the misuse of federal patronage manipulated by certain cabinet officers," and declared irregular methods were used to "intimidate electors and accumulate delegates who would vote to nominate Hoover regardless of the people's wish."

Negroes Seek Right to Polls

Galveston Colored Population Aroused Over Matter

Galveston, Tex., September 4th—Galveston Negroes feel that they have a right to pass through and sit upon the benches in the parks of the city, J. H. Glouser, race man, told the board of city commissioners Thursday.

"We are voicing a protest against the singns on the park reading "For White Persons Only," and will continue to protest until they are removed," he said. Glouser made before the board in behalf of a petition from the Negro Elks which asked that the board provide a playground for Negro children.

Mayor Pearce told Glouser that the signs he referred to had been in the parks for some time. They were not placed there by any official action or sanction of the board. This is a matter under the streets department. Glouser then said he would ask the board to find out who took this action.

"Somebody in the police department is cooperating with the persons who put the signs there, for Negroes have been accosted by policemen and told to heed the signs," Glouser said.

Police Commissioner Mellina reminded Glouser that he was "deviating from his subject." If you are seeking financial aid for a playground for Negro children you are going about it in the wrong way, when you complain about those signs. In this you are attempting to bring the races together. You know the races can't mingle." Mayor Pearce said the matter had been referred to the proper committee. Pearce and two other commissioners were elected by the aid of the Negro vote, police officials reminded Glouser.

A TIP FROM TEXAS

WHEN, some time ago, the United States Supreme Court ruled that a Negro Democrat could not be barred from voting in the Democratic Primaries in Texas, a wave of indignation and alarm swept the Lone Star State. Something, said the whites, must be done about it. Not long ago, something was done: the Texas legislature amended the Primary Law enabling the Democratic State committee to prescribe the qualifications of Democratic Party members. Now the dark brethren are effectively excluded from the Democratic Primaries in the demoncratic state of Texas, and Caucasian minds there are presumably at peace. Tennessee wishes to follow this precedent. Alarmed because 10,000 Negroes are reported to have voted in the decent Democratic Primaries in the city of Memphis, the cry has gone up all over the state to "Keep the Democratic Party White." In order to do so, it will be necessary to pass a law similar to that enacted recently in Texas. This is being urged all over the state by many prominent white citizens. Legally a Negro cannot be prevented from participating in the Democratic Primaries in Tennessee, so, in true Southern manner, the spirit of law must be violated, even though the letter is not.

There is reason, it must be admitted, for the Tennessee whites to be alarmed. They have had a good "graft" for years in the traffic in public offices, with the Negroes effectively excluded by custom from competition for them. It has been very nice to be able to spend the public taxes so that the whites got parks, paving and sewers while the Negroes got none; to spend $21.02 for the education of each white child and only $11.88 for the education of each black child. But now the handwriting is on the wall, and unless something is done about it, Tennessee may actually become a democratic state instead of remaining a Southern Democratic state. Memphis Negroes have been unusually active politically in the past two years. They are setting an example to the Negroes of the entire state. If these Negroes in Memphis are permitted to continue exercising the duties and privileges of American citizenship, the rest of the Tennessee Negroes will soon learn that they also can get consideration by voting in the Democratic Primary, from which they legally cannot now be barred. While this would be good for Tennessee, it would be terrible for white domination. Consequently steps are afoot to introduce a bill into the Tennessee legislature at its next session that will be similar to the recently enacted and unconstitutional Texas Primary Law.

Tennessee, however, is not Texas. Race hatred, though conspicuously present, is not as great there as in the Lone Star state. There is a fairly strong Republican contingent there and it has even been stated by some Republican superoptimists that the possibility of the state going to Mr. Hoover is not without the realm of possibility. A law that could be easily passed by the Texas legislature will not find such easy going in the Tennessee legislative body. With the exception of the extreme Western and Southern portions, most of the state is forgetting the Civil War whenever possible. The Negroes may be legally barred from the Democratic Primaries down there but not without a struggle.

Portsmouth, Va., Star
Thursday, June 28, 1928

Negro Vote Apt To Have Important Effect On Coming Election

By RODNEY DUTCHER

HOUSTON.—Down here in the land of the Jim Crow car, one is apt to forget that the vote of the negro in those states where the vote is not denied him is likely to determine the result of this year's presidential election.

The Republicans, from year to year, have never lost sight of that fact, and have seen to it that the lowly black brethren always received certain nourishing crumbs from the groaning board of patronage.

The Democrats don't overlook the fact, either. But whereas the northern democracy is sometimes inclined to take the Republican attitude, as shown in Tammany's control of the Harlem black belt, the southern democracy would rather lose with only white votes than win with colored help.

The question is hardly ever discussed in the open, except occasionally by a negro political leader who seeks to remind the other politicians of the political importance of his race. There seems to be a sort of gentleman's agreement, the effect of which is that Democrats don't mention the somewhat scandalous method by which patronage and convention delegates are manipulated in the south by the party in power and the Republicans in turn refrain from making nasty remarks about the disenfranchisement of the negro wherever necessary below the Mason-Dixon line.

But when Perry Howard of Mississippi boasted that he represented a group which held the balance of power in about ten states, he wasn't talking much bigger than the facts permitted. The group of delegates of whom Howard is representative not only nearly always controls the Republican nomination but the racial group of which he is a member is also credited, and with apparently good reason, with turning tides in November.

There are large blocks of negro votes in New York, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Maryland and other states. Except in New York, they generally vote Republican, recalling the Civil War and believing that the G. O. P. is a little more friendly toward them than the Democrats.

Politicians in some of the larger cities consider their negro votes their most important nest-eggs. Big Bill Thompson, for instance, in Chicago. The negroes in a given community nearly always vote as a group. One is advised, however, that if Lowden had been nominated this year, the Republicans would have lost the votes of some 12,000 Pullman porters who work for him and as many more votes as the porters could have influenced.

While the negroes are generally delivered by their political leaders and, as remarked, are overwhelmingly Republican, one or two factors are at work which may cause some sort of a split among them this year. They have nothing against Smith or Tammany Hall, which is at least one Democratic machine that has played with them. On the other hand, they may prove fully appreciative of Hoover's order abolishing race segregation in the Census Bureau at Washington. One recalls Senator Cole Blease's absurd assurance some time back that both Hoover and Smith planned to put a negro in the cabinet if elected.

But most political observers have put more stress on what the whites in the border states are going to do, now that the racial issue has been raised more or less prominently by that anti-segregation order and the likelihood that Congress will have a negro Republican member from Chicago next session. Although some Republicans have expressed hope of breaking into Harlem and others have said that the Hoover candidacy would appeal to other northern negroes, it is answered that nobody is going to rob Smith of New York and that the other northern negroes always vote Republican anyway.

The Smith people have contended that Hoover's anti-segregation order assured them the electoral vote of the more or less doubtful border states of Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri and Oklahoma, where prejudice against negroes was greater than prejudice against wets and Tammany candidates.

Meanwhile, one observes with mild interest but no surprise that although there was a considerable group of black and tan delegates tucked discreetly far in the rear of the Kansas City convention floor those negroes in sight here serve in a distinctly menial capacity.

WHY NOT TEST THE POLL TAX LAW?

The Informer has often contended that the Texas poll tax law as a prerequistie for voting, is in direct contravention to the American constitution, and as such is null, void and unconstitutional.

Of course, the editor of this paper is not a constitutional lawyer nor even learned in the law of the state or nation; but we can not comprehend how any state can force a citizen, otherwise qualified as such by the constitution of the republic, to literally pay money for the privilege of casting a ballot in any election state or national.

Even granting that the states have a right to prescribe qualifications for electors in state elections, The Informer doubts very seriously whether any state has the legal and constitutional authority to impose certain financial responsibilities and obligations upon residents of the state in order for them to be eligible to cast a vote in a presidential, senatorial and congressional election.

Let us see what the constitution of the United States says upon this matter:

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES and OF THE STATE WHEREIN THEY RESIDE. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States."—Section 1, Article XIV.

If the federal government considers all men and races citizens in time of war and presses them into some type of armed service to defend the nation, without requiring them to pay a tax to be regarded as citizens, why can certain states disfranchise these same citizens in time of peace?

The supporters of the state poll tax statute will contend that the law operates on all races alike, and that the Negro can not consider it as class legislation; when as a matter of fact, the measure was passed to throw defiance into the face of the constitutional amendment and to find some apparent feasible ground to throw protection around the ballot box and make for the purity of elections, with the Negro as the main object and victim.

As far as The Informer can recall, no test case has ever been made of the Texas poll tax law, but it appears to us that here is an opportunity for a fine piece of work by some Negro organization, such as the Houston branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

While admitting that the time is short for any contemplated action before general election day, yet there is time to act and The Informer would like to see some action taken along this line.

Colored citizens, who have not paid the poll tax, could offer themselves at the polls Tuesday, November 6, 1928, to vote, and if the election judges deny them the right to cast a ballot (which they certainly will do), the election could be contested in a federal court by some candidate, or the Ngroes denied the voting privilege could sue the election judges for damages, and thus make a constitutional question out of such vote denial because of the failure on the part of such American citizens to pay the state in advance for the right to exercise their elective franchise right.

While the American constitution might be ambiguous in some of its provisions and stipulations, it is as plain as the midday sun on this matter of citizenship right and the right to vote in elections.

The framers of our constitution never remotely dreamed that the day would ever arrive in America when American citizens would be compelled to either pay for the right to vote, or be denied one of their constitutional warranties and prerogatives; and if the invalidity of this law could be established in a federal court,

citizenship rights in the South would not be determined by the prejudices and ignorance of registering public officials and by discriminatory laws passed by several Dixie legislatures seeking to disfranchise and disqualify Negroes as American citizens and electors.

The issue resolves itself down to this point: Can any state pass a law denying certain persons the right to vote in national elections, when the federal constitution expressly states that NO STATE shall abridge such citizenship rights?

Herein is presented a pretty legal, yea, constitutional question, and The Informer is firm in its belief that sufficient importance is attached to the issue to warrant legal action after the general election, in the federal court.

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Political - 1928
Suffrage

Texas

DISPATCH
Victoria Va

JUL 27 1928

NEGROES BARRED FROM PRIMARIES

Negroes will be barred from the Democratic primaries in Harris county, Texas as a result of denial Tuesday by Federal Judge J. C. Hutchenson of an injunction asked by J. B. Griggsby, negro, against Guy Harris, chairman of the county executive committee which barred negroes from voting.

Judge Hutchenson held that political parties may prescribe qualifications of members and declared his opinion that no legal right of the negroes was nullified by baring them from Democratic primary elections.

The injunction suit attacked state statutes delegating right to fix qualifications of membership of the Democratic party to the state executive committee as contrary to the 14th and 15th amendments to the federal constitution.

Judge Hutchenson ruled the state statues constitutional and that they did not regulate the elections or make the Democratic party a state party.

The case will be appealed to the supreme court of the United States. attorneys for the negro said.

DALLAS, TEX.

News

JUL 12 1928

Negroes Fight for Vote at Primaries

HOUSTON, Texas, July 11 (AP). —A fight to prevent the Harris County Democratic executive committee from excluding negroes from the July 28 primaries opened in the Federal Court Wednesday.

The suit, filed by R. D. Evans, a negro attorney of Waco, attacks a resolution of the State Democratic Executive Committee passed June 11 as unconstitutional and alleges that it violates the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

An injunction against Guy Harris, chairman of the Harris County Democratic Executive Committee, and all election officials of the county is asked to prevent them from enforcing the State committee mandate barring negroes from the election.

Judge J. C. Hutcheson Jr. set July 21 for a hearing in which the officials cited are to show cause why the injunction should not be granted.

Evans filed the suit in behalf of J. B. Grigsby, a negro insurance man, and O. P. Dewalt, operator of a negro theater, and he claims he represents the Independent Colored Voters' League.

He said the suit is a test case, based on a similar suit filed in Houston and appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. The high tribunal, Evans said, ruled that the county executive committee had no authority to bar negroes from the primary.

The suit is a bill in equity and alleges the negroes have no recourse in a court of law.

NEW YORK TIMES

JUL 25 1928

COURT BARS NEGRO IN TEXAS PRIMARY

Federal Judge at Houston Upholds Democrats in Injunction Case.

FINDS NO INFRINGEMENT

Other Suits in South Expected, All Eventually Going to the Supreme Bench.

Special to The New York Times.

HOUSTON, Texas, July 24.—Political parties may prescribe their own membership qualifications and the Democratic party therefore can bar negroes from its primaries, Judge J. C. Hutcheson Jr., of Federal District Court here, held in denying an injunction in the case of J. B. Grigsby, negro, against Guy Harris, chairman of the Harris County Democratic Executive committee.

Grigsby, who filed an application for injunction in behalf of all members of his race in the county, had asked that the executive committee and election officials be restrained from barring negroes from the State and county primary elections on July 28. His petition alleges that a resolution of the State Executive Committee barring negroes is contrary to the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

Attorneys for Grigsby, immediately after the decision was made known, announced they would take the case to the United States Supreme Court for a decision. The case, they said, is a test to determine whether the Democratic Party in Texas and other Southern States where a victory in the Democratic primary virtually is equal to election, may bar negroes from voting and indirectly deprive them of a vote in the choice of State and county officials.

A statute of the State, in which power to regulate membership in political parties was delegated to the party officials and the State Executive Committees was attacked in the petition for injunction on the ground that it made the Executive Committees agents of the State.

Commenting on his part of the injunction suit, Judge Hutcheson in his opinion said:

"With defendant's position in the matter I wholly agree, for I know of no principle, neither have I found or been cited to any authority, which affirms the proposition that the constitution and maintenance of the business, as such, of political parties is any proper matter of public or governmental concern.

"This view finds support, not only in the law, but in the history of this country and always will find support while free institutions are maintained.

"That the public has an interest in the lawful and proper conduct of primary elections, is, of course, undoubted and that for their proper regulation to secure a fair and orderly choice the State has full power to provide, no one denies."

The action attacked in the suit of the negroes, Judge Hutcheson held, being purely party action, infringed no legal right of the negroes and on this fact he based his decision refusing the injunction.

"The action complained of by plaintiffs," he said, "being purely party action as to which the holding is universal, that like other voluntary associations they have complete delectus personarum and may select or reject as members whom they will, it is unnecessary to decide the second point, whether, if the plaintiff's rights had been invaded, equity could grant relief, other than to say that the point is greatly in doubt, the books being full of cases declaring the doctrine that equity is concerned only with matters of property and the maintenance of civil rights and will not interfere for the protection of rights which are merely political."

Citing Supreme Court cases in which political parties have been held agencies apart from governmental bodies and regulations, Judge Hutcheson asserted that "political parties are political instrumentalities and are in no sense governmental instrumentalities." On this holding he rejected the plea of the petition that a so-called "white man's primary" is contrary to constitutional guarantees of franchise.

The Democratic party in Texas in years past by various methods successfully has barred negroes from participation in its primaries.

When a State law barring negroes was passed by the Legislature and later declared unconstitutional in a Supreme Court decision, the law was repealed and a new statute enacted delegating to the Executive Committee power to fix membership qualifications.

By resolution since, the committee has barred the negoes, regardless of whether they otherwise were qualified voters.

The negroes involved in the case in which Judge Hutcheson handed down the decision contended they were Democrats and that they would support Democratic nominees, including Governor Smith of New York.

Similar Decision in San Antonio.

SAN ANTONIO, Texas, July 24 (AP). —Another decision sustaining the right of Democratic Party organizations to bar negroes from the Democratic primary in Texas was handed down here today in Federal Court.

Judge Duval West denied an application for a temporary restraining order which would prevent election officials from refusing Democratic ballots to negroes. The order was sought by J. G. Wimberly, a negro attorney, who was denied an absentee ballot on the strength of a resolution, adopted by the Bexar County Democratic Executive Committee, excluding negroes from the Democratic primary.

A decision similar to Judge West's was handed down in Houston yesterday by Federal Judge J. C. Hutcheon Jr., who held that political parties may prescribe qualifications of members.

DEMOCRATS BAR NEGROES FROM TEXAS PRIMARY

District Court Upholds Democratic State Executive Committee in Barring Negroes.

Washington, D. C., August 16.—According to a decision recently handed down by the district court for the Southern District of Texas, the state executive committee of the Democratic party in Texas has been upheld in providing that only white voters may participate in the primary elections of the party.

A group of Negroes, alleging themselves to be resident citizens of Texas and the United States, and qualified voters under the election laws of Texas and of the particular political party, sought an injunction against the members of the county executive committee of the party to enjoin the enforcement of a resolution passed by the state executive committee of the party permitting only white voters to participate in the primaries.

The court, in its opinion, explains that the Texas legislature repealed an act providing that Negroes should not be permitted to participate in the primary of the party, upon such act being held unconstitutional, and substitute therefor a new act providing that every political party of the state shall have the power to prescribe the qualifications of its own members and determine who shall be qualified to vote or otherwise participate in the party and its primary elections.

The court said, in part:

"The action complained of by plaintiffs, being purely party action as to which the holding is universal, that like other voluntary associations they have complete delectus personarum and may select or reject as members whom they will, it is unnecessary to decide the second point, whether, if the plaintiff's rights had been invaded, equity could grant relief, other than to say that the point is greatly in doubt, the books being full of cases declaring the doctrine that equity is concerned only with matters of property and the maintenance of civil rights and will not interfere for the protection of rights which are merely political."

And that:

"This view finds support, not only in the law, but in the history of this country and always will find support while free institutions are maintained."

NEGRO VOTERS LACK INTEREST IN VOTE RIGHTS

By S. B. WILLIAMS

Last Saturday morning at 10 by the old town clock, a few, a very few men and women of our race met at the apartment house owned by the precinct chairman, C. N. Love, for the purpose of holding, as per order of the county chairman, a precinct convention in precinct 30.

When you consider all the hue and cry concerning the lack of opportunity the colored citizen is given to exercise his or her inalienable rights at the ballot box, you would naturally expect to find these conventions overrun with black folk who would feel that any chance whatever to show the world that they were interested in their political rights and civil welfare should be taken advantage of. And when you recall all the bemoaning of our sad, sad fate, and the regular and constant singing the blues about other people not wanting us to exercise our God-given and constitutional perogatives, you could not help but go to one of these conventions expecting to be too late to get even standing room.

But, brother, you have another thought coming! When I arrived at the appointed place, and on the appointed hour, imagine my surprise to find two young men and the precinct chairman.

Naturally, my mind ran back to two years ago, when a certain telephone in a particular office in this city was almost rung off the wall by interested and overanxious colored voters inquiring, "Where do we vote?" And from others, "We have walked our legs off trying to locate our polling place; can't you help us locate it?"

A few short hours previous to the convening of this precinct meeting, the entire state and even the nation was holding its breath awaiting the decision of the United States district judge, which was to say whether the Negro should be permitted to cast his vote in the democratic primary. The echoes from the awful cries of the Negro delegates over the action of the republican executive committee at Kansas City, in refusing these colored brothers seats in the National Republican Convention, have not yet ceased to reverberate through the hills and valleys of this great Southland of ours, and here I find two young men and an elderly precinct chairman, awaiting the coming of the expected throng who "are willing to fight for their rights," and the vast majority of whom haven't come up to this good time.

Perhaps they are discouraged and "regusted." No doubt they have given up and are saying, "What's the use?"

As I sat there, awaiting the throng, which, like the groom in the old song, who left the bride awaiting at the church, my mind did quite a bit of rambling. I saw my people and myself standing between the devil and the deep blue sea. Born and nurtured under republican influences, taught from infancy that the "grand old party" was the ship while all else was the sea, and to have lived long enough to discover that as big as the old ship is supposed to be, it is fast becoming too small to shelter our group. I thought of Perry W. Howard, Ben J. Davis, Walter L. Cohen, Robert ("Bob") Church. I recalled those days when it was almost as dangerous to call a Negro a democrat to his face as it formerly was to apply the term liar to a Texan.

Still the crowd is conspicuous by its absence. Where are the "spunky" women of our group? Surely, if the men are too busy, they (the women) will forego their housecleaning and other domestic affairs long enough to spend one hour at a meeting which two short years ago they were willing to walk through blood to participate in.

Yes, here comes two ministers, good and true, and three ladies—God bless them! The convention is complete—nine in all, counting this writer.

My old mind wouldn't leave that devil and the deep blue sea proposition. The grand old ship's captain has told us to scat, run, jump overboard; you are not needed. Since all else is the sea, the democratic party must be classed as this sea, or a great part of it, at least. And from all indications, the old sea has refused us a "refuge."

The question uppermost in my mind is, Would our people appreciate a court decision in our favor, sufficiently, to avail themselves of the opportunity given them to go to the polls in great enough numbers as to warrant the excessive expenditure of money and time which is being made for our benefit? Do we really want what we say we want, or are we making a pretense and fooling nobody as much as we are fooling ourselves? I recall that the man in the scriptures who would not use the one talent he possessed, lost even that one unappreciated talent.

CHRONICLE
HOUSTON, TEX.
NOV 27 1928

COMMITTEE BARS NEGROES IN CITY VOTE

Executive Body Would Also Impound Ballots After Canvass; One Member Refuses to Attend Session.

A motion to the effect that only white democrats may vote in Saturday's city primary and another motion to have the ballot boxes canvassed and stored in the court house if it can be done legally were adopted at a brief session of the city democratic executive committee Tuesday morning.

Those who participated in the meeting were Chairman E. E. Clancy and members James L. Bailey and George E. Williams. Morris Rosenthal, who had attended an executive session just prior to the meeting, refused point-blank to go into the open meeting, saying that there was "no purpose to it."

Bailey made the motion to the effect that only white democrats may vote. It was promptly seconded by Williams and put as a motion by Chairman Clancy.

Williams moved that the ballot boxes be canvassed and stored in the court house. Bailey seconded the motion and it carried quickly. Under the committee's rules, the chairman does not vote except in case of a tie.

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Bailey's Views.

In making the motion to store the ballot boxes in the court, Williams put the motion baldly and Bailey offered the amendment "if it can be legally done," which amendment was promptly accepted by Williams.

After the meeting had broken up with Chairman Clancy refusing to put a motion to adjourn and insisting that the "chair wanted to express itself," Bailey explained why he seconded the motion on canvassing and storing ballot boxes in the court house, declaring that "I seconded the motion in the interest of harmony. There is absolutely no chance of any attempt being made at the City Hall to look into anybody's vote. I insisted on the words 'if it can be legally done' because I don't believe it legal."

The meeting Tuesday morning was scheduled for 10 o'clock in the office of Williams, 608 Prince Theatre Building. Chairman Clancy arrived at about 10:30. W. B. Hamblen, Judge Monteith's campaign manager; A. L. Hemphill and Leon Lusk, Monteith workers, and Attorney John H. Crooker, whom it was understood had been asked to look into the committee's legal rights, were waiting in the office.

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And Bailey left the room.

After Bailey's departure Crooker inquired of Chairman Clancy and Bailey of the committee's rules governing the election and was told that they would be prepared and signed this afternoon. Crooker also asked for more specific in-

DEMOCRATS BAR NEGROES FROM TEXAS PRIMARY

District Court Upholds Democratic State Executive Committee in Barring Negroes.

Washington, D. C., August 16.—According to a decision recently handed down by the district court for the Southern District of Texas, the state executive committee of the Democratic party in Texas has been upheld in providing that only white voters may participate in the primary elections of the party.

A group of Negroes, alleging themselves to be resident citizens of Texas and the United States, and qualified voters under the election laws of Texas and of the particular political party, sought an injunction against the members of the county executive committee of the party to enjoin the enforcement of a resolution passed by the state executive committee of the party permitting only white voters to participate in the primaries.

The court, in its opinion, explains that the Texas legislature repealed an act providing that Negroes should not be permitted to participate in the primary of the party, upon such act being held unconstitutional, and substitute therefor a new act providing that every political party of the state shall have the power to prescribe the qualifications of its own members and determine who shall be qualified to vote or otherwise participate in the party and its primary elections.

The court said, in part:

"The action complained of by plaintiffs, being purely party action as to which the holding is universal, that like other voluntary associations they have complete delectus personarum and may select or reject as members whom they will, it is unnecessary to decide the second point, whether, if the plaintiff's rights had been invaded, equity could grant relief, other than to say that the point is greatly in doubt, the books being full of cases declaring the doctrine that equity is concerned only with matters of property and the maintenance of civil rights and will not interfere for the protection of rights which are merely political."

And that:

"This view finds support, not only in the law, but in the history of this country and always will find support while free institutions are maintained."

NEGRO VOTERS LACK INTEREST IN VOTE RIGHTS

By S. B. WILLIAMS

Last Saturday morning at 10 by the old town clock, a few, a very few men and women of our race met at the apartment house owned by the precinct chairman, C. N. Love, for the purpose of holding, as per order of the county chairman, a precinct convention in precinct 30.

When you consider all the hue and cry concerning the lack of opportunity the colored citizen is given to exercise his or her inalienable rights at the ballot box, you would naturally expect to find these conventions overrun with black folk who would feel that any chance whatever to show the world that they were interested in their political rights and civil welfare should be taken advantage of. And when you recall all the bemoaning of our sad, sad fate, and the regular and constant singing the blues about other people not wanting us to exercise our God-given and constitutional perogatives, you could not help but go to one of these conventions expecting to be too late to get even standing room.

But, brother, you have another thought coming! When I arrived at the appointed place, and on the appointed hour, imagine my surprise to find two young men and the precinct chairman.

Naturally, my mind ran back to two years ago, when a certain telephone in a particular office in this city was almost rung off the wall by interested and overanxious colored voters inquiring, "Where do we vote?" And from others, "We have walked our legs off trying to locate our polling place; can't you help us locate it?"

A few short hours previous to the convening of this precinct meeting, the entire state and even the nation was holding its breath awaiting the decision of the United States district judge, which was to say whether the Negro should be permitted to cast his vote in the democratic primary. The echoes from the awful cries of the Negro delegates over the action of the republican executive committee at Kansas City, in refusing these colored brothers seats in the National Republican Convention, have not yet ceased to reverberate through the hills and valleys of this great Southland of ours, and here I find two young men and an elderly precinct chairman, awaiting the coming of the expected throng who "are willing to fight for their rights," and the vast majority of whom haven't come up to this good time.

Perhaps they are discouraged and "regusted." No doubt they have given up and are saying, "What's the use?"

As I sat there, awaiting the throng, which, like the groom in the old song, who left the bride awaiting at the church, my mind did quite a bit of rambling. I saw my people and myself standing between the devil and the deep blue sea. Born and nurtured under republican influences, taught from infancy that the "grand old party" was the ship while all else was the sea, and to have lived long enough to discover that as big as the old ship is supposed to be, it is fast becoming too small to shelter our group. I thought of Perry W. Howard, Ben J. Davis, Walter L. Cohen, Robert ("Bob") Church. I recalled those days when it was almost as dangerous to call a Negro a democrat to his face as it formerly was to apply the term liar to a Texan.

Still the crowd is conspicuous by its absence. Where are the "spunky" women of our group? Surely, if the men are too busy, they (the women) will forego their housecleaning and other domestic affairs long enough to spend one hour at a meeting which two short years ago they were willing to walk through blood to participate in.

Yes, here comes two ministers, good and true, and three ladies—God bless them! The convention is complete—nine in all, counting this writer.

My old mind wouldn't leave that devil and the deep blue sea proposition. The grand old ship's captain has told us to scat, run, jump overboard; you are not needed. Since all else is the sea, the democratic party must be classed as this sea, or a great part of it, at least. And from all indications, the old sea has refused us a "refuge."

The question uppermost in my mind is, Would our people appreciate a court decision in our favor, sufficiently, to avail themselves of the opportunity given them to go to the polls in great enough numbers as to warrant the excessive expenditure of money and time which is being made for our benefit? Do we really want what we say we want, or are we making a pretense and fooling nobody as much as we are fooling ourselves? I recall that the man in the scriptures who would not use the one talent he possessed, lost even that one unappreciated talent.

CHRONICLE
HOUSTON, TEX.
NOV 27 1928

COMMITTEE BARS NEGROES IN CITY VOTE

Executive Body Would Also Impound Ballots After Canvass; One Member Refuses to Attend Session.

A motion to the effect that only white democrats may vote in Saturday's city primary and another motion to have the ballot boxes canvassed and stored in the court house if it can be done legally were adopted at a brief session of the city democratic executive committee Tuesday morning.

Those who participated in the meeting were Chairman E. E. Clancy and members James L. Bailey and George E. Williams. Morris Rosenthal, who had attended an executive session just prior to the meeting, refused point-blank to go into the open meeting, saying that there was "no purpose to it."

Bailey made the motion to the effect that only white democrats may vote. It was promptly seconded by Williams and put as a motion by Chairman Clancy.

Williams moved that the ballot boxes be canvassed and stored in the court house. Bailey seconded the motion and it carried quickly. Under the committee's rules, the chairman does not vote except in case of a tie.

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Bailey's Views.

In making the motion to store the ballot boxes in the court, Williams put the motion baldly and Bailey offered the amendment "if it can be legally done," which amendment was promptly accepted by Williams.

After the meeting had broken up with Chairman Clancy refusing to put a motion to adjourn and insisting that the "chair wanted to express itself," Bailey explained why he seconded the motion for canvassing and storing ballot boxes in the court house, declaring that "I seconded the motion in the interest of harmony. There is absolutely no chance of any attempt being made at the City Hall to loot into anybody's vote. I insisted on the words 'if it can be legally done' because I don't believe it legal."

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Suffrage

Virginia.

NEWS
RICHMOND, VA.

MAR 30 1928

DENIES NEGROES PRIMARY BALLOT

Judge Crump Refuses Mandamus to Allow West Right to Vote.

Judge Beverley T. Crump, in law and equity court, this afternoon ruled that Negro Democrats are not eligible to vote in the primary Tuesday.

He denied the petition of James O. West for a mandamus requiring the judges of election at the First precinct of Madison ward to permit him to vote. West was represented by Alfred E. Cohen and J. R. Pollard. Leon M. Bazile, representing the state, offered a demurrer to the petition, which was sustained.

Judge Crump held that a party primary is a party affair, and not a state affair. Statutes covering primaries, he ruled, were in exercise of the state's police power rather than election legislation denying rights of citizenship provided under the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the constitution. He said that the present primary law leaves regulations as to who may vote in a party primary just as they were before passage of the present law. The rule banning Negro voters was not affected by the present law, he seemed to think.

"This petition," the judge said, "is based upon the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the nationa[l] constitution, which provide there shall be no discrimination against a citizen on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude. The application of these amendments in general as to the franchise rights of colored citizens is well established. The results are that these amendments must be given full effect and where state officers make such discrimination relief can be had.

This case, however, relates to th[e] ... ntir... election, and it is well known ... aries are regulated to ... y law, primary elections ... lly from general elec- ... established in the ... our primary ... t political ... ions to ... private

primaries were resorted to, they were conducted privately within the parties. Frequently, there was disorder, and hence the states established a primary law. The primary law does not interfere with the rights of a party to hold a primary or convention.

It directs that the officers of primary elections shall be officers of the law, but it does not restrict parties to prescribe party rules. It is clear that parties conducting primaries under this law have the same rights as to making laws as they had before the law was adopted. They may say who may vote in the primary."

NEWS
RICHMOND, VA.

MAR 28 1928

Negro Democrats Seek Primary Vote

The Richmond City Democratic committee has the power to abrogate the Norfolk convention rules, which provide that only white citizens may vote in Democratic primaries, J. R. Pollard, Negro, declared at a meeting of Negro Democrats last night in True Reformers' hall.

The Negro Democrats assembled, about 200 in number, were told of the filing of mandamus proceedings in the law and equity court yesterday for the purpose of testing the ruling of the white Democrats.

Rev. Charles S. Morris, D. D., delivered the principal address. "You participate in a farce," he said, "when you solemnly vote in November, knowing, if you are at all honest, that the Democratic primary already has decided the matter."

DEMOCRATS BAR NEGROES IN VA. PRIMARIES

Richmond, Va., March 31.—Judge Beverly D. Crump, of Law and Equity Court, today ruled that Negro Democrats are not eligible to vote in the city Democratic primary next Tuesday.

Eagle

The court denied the petition of James O. West, Negro, asking for a writ of mandamus to compel the judges of election of Madison ward to accept his vote and sustained a demurrer filed by Leon Bazile, assistant attorney general of Virginia.

4-6-28

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NEWS
RICHMOND, VA.

APR 2 1928

WHY, SAYS HE, SHOULD NOT A NEGRO DEMOCRAT VOTE FOR A WHITE?

Editor The News Leader:

Sir,—Please allow the writer to say, although the effort being made in court by Richmond Negroes to obtain the right to vote in the Democratic primary has received scant notice in the columns of your very influential newspaper, yet indications are that the movement is giving some concern to politicians and office seekers, and is furnishing much food for thought among serious-minded Southern white people.

It may be of interest to say that in the state of Virginia Negroes are impressed with Governor Byrd's constructive and progressive administration. They believe in his policies, program and anti-lynch law. They have come to believe, also, that their opportunities will be greater and their various interests better served under a Democratic administration. Therefore, they are desirous of identifying themselves with the Democratic party of Virginia.

The Negro Democrats of Richmond feel that they are entirely right in bringing action through the courts of law to regain and uphold their right to vote against those who are so short-sighted as to deny and deprive them of this right through the enforcement of an absurd and unconstitutional statute or primary regulation.

It is admitted by the public press of this city that "the state leaders are interested because a decision in the Richmond case would govern primaries in all parts of Virginia." Hence, while the local city Democratic committee and the state central Democratic committee may not be specifically accused of political trickery, or of conspiracy to defraud, yet they certainly do appear to be in a combination to put over on the intelligent Negroes of Virginia one of the gravest political wrongs of modern times.

Local Negroes are much encouraged to be advised by white men, some of them Democrats, true and tried, that they are satisfied the Democratic primary law is unconstitutional. They are not opposed to its repeal, but for various reasons they are not outspoken. Negroes are further advised by honest men and Democrats that they believe in doing politics on a higher plane, than upon the basis of misrepresentation, discrimination and fraud.

In this connection it may be observed, and very properly, that when women were given the ballot it was confidently expected that through their efforts oppression, tyranny, bribery, graft and fraud in politics would cease to do their dirty work. If women, with all their powers for good, are to clean out this "Augean stable," no time is more germain than the present; no starting place is more appropriate than at Negro disfranchisement. For, in the name of common sense, in the name of all that is good, what great harm can come of permitting a black Democrat to vote for a white Democrat?

THEODORE W. JONES.
140 West Leigh street.

TIMES DISPATCH
RICHMOND, VA.

APR 5 1928

THINKS NEGROES SHOULD BE GIVEN CHANCE TO VOTE

To the Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

Sir,—I note in several issues of your paper that the Negroes of Richmond will undertake to test the constitutionality of the law which kept them from participating in the primary in the mayoralty contest.

It does seem to me our election laws ought to be elastic enough to permit Negroes who are good citizens and who pay a property tax and poll tax the right to vote.

As a matter of justice I cannot see why it should be otherwise. What harm could possibly result in the Negroes of Richmond voting in the mayoralty contest? The three candidates who opposed each other, appeared to stand well in the city of Richmond, so what matter would it make which is elected?

It does seem when the matter is viewed without prejudice, and in the light of cool sober judgment, that every citizen who helps support the government under which he lives ought to have a voice in the affairs of that government. Indeed I cannot see how it can be otherwise. By what authority can be levied a property and poll tax—and in the face of it deny the rights of citizenship? How can such a thing be done without violating the constitutional rights of every free-born American citizen?

In the city of Roanoke this year there was an election for certain public officers, and one had actually to make oath, that he voted for the Democratic nominee for President in 1923 before they were permitted to vote. Was there ever anything as absurd pertaining to an election? The next of kin is the absent voters law. It offers more opportunity for fraud than any single thing connected with our elections.

The primary has, no doubt, served its purpose well, but it has become antiquated, and should be relegated with the things of the past. What is the need for a primary in Virginia? It simply means the expense of two elections the same year. One to nominate—the other to elect.

Why not let the issue be settled in our fall elections? The result would be the same. It would save a midsummer political campaign, when the farmers are too busy with their crops to hear the issues discussed. It would do away with swearing voters how they voted four years ago, and how they will vote four years hence.

Think of it—making one take oath as to how they have voted, when the ballot is supposed to be secret. I want to see such laws dealing with our elections as will allow all citizens the right to qualify to vote without so much "red tape"—I believe every voter has a right to vote the ticket of his choice—even though he voted the Republican ticket in the last election, and finds he is in bad company, he has the privilege of returning to the Democratic party, if he has strayed away, or joining the ranks, if he has never been in before.

I appreciate the fact this is not an entirely easy matter to solve in every detail, but it can be done. It can only be done, however, when prejudice is left out—and justice the all impelling motive.

"DEMOCRAT."

Lynchburg, Va.

NEWPORT NEWS
VIRGINIA

MAR 28 1928

Seeks Ballot Mandamus

RICHMOND, March 27.—(AP)—A writ of mandamus to compel election judges in the first precinct of the Madison ward to allow James O. West, negro, to vote in the Democratic party primary of April 3 is to be filed in the law and equiyt court tomorrow and then respondent A. C. Billy, William Boltz and William Ricker will be required to answer before Judge Beverly Crump by Friday.

NEWS
RICHMOND, VA.

APR 2 1928

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND THE VIRGINIA NEGRO.

The News Leader does not know whether the Negroes who wish to participate in the Democratic primary will appeal from JUDGE CRUMP'S decision of Friday and carry their case upward to the supreme court of the United States. As the Negroes will get no financial support, naturally, from either political party, the expense will have to be borne by private individuals, and as comparatively few Negroes are interested in this move, the cost may be greater than Negro Democrats in Richmond can carry.

Whatever the immediate outcome, a situation is developing that will call for the wisest public counsel and for matured action by the Democratic party. Nobody is prepared to give the answer today; nobody can deny it must be given tomorrow.

Many Negroes are frankly disillusioned by their dealings with the Republican party. They know they have been cast out from the ranks of the "Lily Whites." At the same time, the Negroes are developing a new pride in their state and a special interest in their city. They are told by their leaders that they can never hope to get better streets and more municipal improvements in their districts unless they can vote. They realize that it is quite futile to put up an opposition councilmanic ticket. Consequently, they reason that the only way open to them of acquiring any political influence is by participating in the primary as Democrats.

As The News Leader analyzes it, this is the judgment of some of the Negro leaders, preachers, teachers and business-men, a small but influential group. The average Negro is not interested, because he is not politically-minded. More than half the Negro population of Richmond has never exercised the franchise and therefore is not conscious of the loss of political power, which the Negroes of 1902 felt keenly.

While there are those who insist vigorously that the Democratic party must be kept a "white man's party," under all circumstances, and that no Negroes must ever be admitted to it, there is at least a possibility that one element would not be averse to the registration of qualified Negroes in small numbers within the Democratic party. At a guess The News Leader would surmise that the party would not vote to admit any Negroes but that if a court decision forbade the party to exclude them, there would be no serious distress or concern with the party if a few Negroes of intelligence and public spirit participated in the primary.

The question that politicians are asking is, How far would this infiltration go? If a few Negroes were admitted, would not a multitude seek to get the ballot?

Undoubtedly, the process would be progressive, but only those could participate in the primary, of course, who could qualify for the general election. And as the requirements for voters are now imposed, very few Negroes could pass the gauntlet. The prospect of any large influx of Negroes into the Democratic party, under any court decision, is accordingly remote.

But what of tomorrow? Looking down the years, Democrats who have eyes to see the trend of the times must realize that as education is spread, more and more Negroes can qualify under any reasonable administration of the educational tests. Illiteracy among the Negroes is diminishing rapidly. At least twice as many as could do so in 1904 are now able to qualify, if given only the tests applied to white voters. Here in Richmond, for example, 14.9 per cent. of the Negroes were illiterate in 1920, as compared with 19.6 in 1910. Twenty years hence, illiteracy among Negroes will be no higher than the present white rate. What will be done then? When the parties no longer can bar the Negro because he is illiterate, will they continue to bar him because he is a Negro?

VA. PRIMARY CASE TO GO TO FEDERAL CT.

Attorney In Case Tells Afro Victory Was Not Expected In Lower Court

GOVERNOR BYRD IS NON-COMMITTAL

"A Matter For Courts To Decide" Says State Executive

By W. L. DABNEY

RICHMOND, VA.—Virginia is taking the initiative in the struggle of the race to win political equality with other groups as was the intention of the supporters of the Fifteenth Amendment to the National Constitution.

That the white officials of the state are determined to circumvent the purpose of this amendment is evident from the ruling of Judge Beverly T. Crump, of the Law and Equity Court, on last Friday, before whom the petition for mandamus compelling election officials to permit James O. West, colored to vote in the Tuesday Democratic primary election, was argued.

Governor Harry F. Byrd, in commenting on the primary case on Saturday, told the AFRO-AMERICAN that this case is one which the courts will have to settle, implying that he had no official interest whatsoever in the matter. On the question of the recent law against lynching, the Governor said that there would be no difficulty, in his opinion, in executing it since the law was passed by a Democratic Legislature and has the support of a large element within the white race.

Parties May Discriminate

According to Judge Crump's ruling, what is denied to the state in the matter of discriminating against a group of citizens on account of race, color, etc., may be done by a political party, for he said: "They (parties) may say who may vote in the primary." By this statement, of course, the judge meant that the Democratic party was acting within its rights when in convention at Norfolk in 1924, it made the ruling that Negroes be barred in the Democratic primaries.

Negroes who wish to vote in the primary elections contend that any ruling of the Democratic party or any other group which bars them from primary elections on account of race, color, etc., is in conflict with both the spirit and the letter of the Fifteenth mendment of the Federal Constitution. J. R. Pollard, prominent attorney, who ran against Carter Glass for the U. S. Senate in 1920, has charge of the case assisted by Alfred E. Cohen, white.

Non-Partisan League

This primary case has the support of one of the leading organizations of Richmond — The Non-Partisan League of Colored Voters. The president of the league, Theodore W. Jones is a retired business man of wide influence and ability; the secretary, Prof. Nelson Williams, Jr., a graduate of Columbia University; and the treasurer, Emmett C. Burke, is cashier of the St. Luke Bank and Trust Company, and a man of high character and standing.

Mr. Pollard pointed out to the "AFRO", that separate books are kept for the qualified white and colored voters in the city and that the list of colored voters is never carried to the polls on primary election days. Colored voters, therefore, appearing at denied the right to vote and have been also pointed out that the denial to participate in the Democratic primaries is tantamount to political discrimination and the destruction of the political rights of colored citizens inasmuch as the regular elections in Virginia and other southern states amount to nothing more than a farce.

According to Mr. Pollard, the case will be carried directly to the Federal Court. In fact, he said, he did not expect a favorable ruling in the Law and Equity Court, since no southern court has passed favorably on any case involving the political rights of colored people.

Richmond, Va., News-Leader
Friday, May 4, 1928

GORDON HANCOCK ANSWERS MR. GLASS ON NEGRO DISFRANCHISEMENT.

Editor The News Leader:

Sir,—Senator Carter Glass' recent deliverance on the Negro question was unfortunate.

It was not only an affront to every Negro citizen of this country, but it failed to do justice to the statesmanship of the new South. Fifty years ago Senator Glass would have been hailed as "hero and deliverer"; but more and more the statesmanship of the new South is being engrossed in the larger issues confronting the nation, leaving the Negro question as a bone of contention among ward politicians. On the curb of the South's public opinion the stock of the "hold-the-Negro-down" politician is selling "short;" and a "knock-down-drag-out" attitude of the Negro question is no longer all-sufficient evidence of sagacious statesmanship. When Senator Glass avers "the South does not intend to let the Negro vote," he evidently forgets that the South of the future will have something to say about the matter; and Senator Glass utterly disregarded a growing element of whites in the South who feel ashamed to longer tremble before the ghost of "Negro domination" when all the laws and all the wealth and all the armies and all the navies are at their command. These more liberal whites are becoming more and more unable to see the wisdom of spending millions to prepare the Negroes for citizenship that is to be denied. These more liberal whites are more and more disdaining a supremacy based upon the legally-imposed handicaps of the Negro, and they no longer take pleasure in flaunting the "red rag" of white supremacy in the face of a stricken race. They feel their responsibility as well as their power and take their greatness for granted. Bull dogs seldom bark.

Senator Glass' deliverance has three fundamental weaknesses. In the first place, he seeks to justify the South's position on Negro suffrage by pointing out certain practices of the North. In other words, he takes refuge in a position supported by the moral fallacy that two wrongs make a right. The extent to which Senator Glass delegates to the North the prerogatives of setting standards, he predisposes the statesmanship of the South to grave criticism both as to calibre and motive. Nobody concedes the North a monopoly in doing right and when Senator Glass has measured up to the North's standard he will come far short of moral perfection. Why should not the statesmen of the South set their own high standards rather than emulate the "limping standards" of the North? Senator Glass' position can hardly augment the prestige of the South's statesmanship for it shows a weakness that the South must in justice resent.

Again, Senator Glass' utterances are not calculated to inspire respect for the law. When the Senator defiantly boasts of adhering to the letter of the law but spurning its spirit, he sets a dangerous precedent for the oncoming generations of white men. Whether law can be repudiated today and evoked for protection tomorrow is extremely doubtful, and when Senator Glass assumes such position he is "sowing to the wind" of law evasion, and the rising generations must reap the whirl-wind of lawlessness. By showing disrespect for the law Senator Glass is striking at the very foundation of the white supremacy he boasts.

Finally, Senator Glass' utterances presuppose that might is right. He seems to feel that the South's power to disfranchise the Negro makes it right. The world frowned upon the German kaiser who took the same position; when he was calling treaties "scraps of paper" and when his valiant legions were battering at the gates of Liege. When the senator subscribes to the doctrine that might is right, he puts white supremacy at cross-purposes with Jesus Christ—a dangerous position. In spite of Senator Glass' attitude toward the Negro citizens of this country, the Negroes still hope for the ultimate ascendancy of a more liberal white South [illegible] statesmen will glory in right as [illegible]tor Glass glories in might. [illegible] Senator Glass millions of N[illegible] have faith in the ultimat[illegible] the white South. In spi[illegible] Carter Glass, Negroes [illegible] a measure of re[illegible] premacy. The [illegible] the white ma[illegible] whites wh[illegible] powerful t[illegible] way."

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Suffrage

Virginia

NEWS
RICHMOND, VA.

JAN 25 1928

NEGROES SEEK TO VOTE IN PRIMARY

Ask City Democratic Committee Whether They Are Barred by Any Rule.

A petition from Negro qualified voters of Richmond asking if any rule would bar Negro Democrats from voting in the primary of April 3 was received by the city Democratic committee at the meeting in the Richmond hotel last night and referred to a subcommittee. The petition was signed by officers of the Non-Partisan Voters' League: Theodore W. Jones, president; Nelson Williams, Jr., secretary, and J. R. Pollard, director.

The committee last night voted to have the voters pick the delegates to the third district Democratic convention. Lee and Clay ward each will have thirty-five delegates and Madison and Jefferson will have fifteen each. Candidates for the delegation are required to pay a fee of $1 and announce their candidacy before Feb. 3.

The primary of April 3 will be conducted in accordance with the usual rules, it was decided. E. M. McClure, chairman of the committee, presided last night.

The petition from the Negro voters follows:

"A large number of colored qualified voters of the city of Richmond, members of the Non-Partisan Voters' League of this city, many of whom heretofore supported the regular nominee of the Democratic primaries, common together with many others, have expressed their intention and desire to vote in the forthcoming primary, have requested the officers of this league to communicate with you to ascertain whether or not any rule or regulation of yours will be promulgated as instruction, to the primary election officials, April, 1928, which will prevent colored qualified voters from voting in said primary election Thanking you for the courtesy of an early answer, we beg to remain."

TIMES DISPATCH
RICHMOND, VA.

MAR 19 1928

NEGRO VOTERS SEEK RIGHT TO PRIMARY

Would Cast Ballots With Democratic Party—Mass Meeting Tomorrow.

Announcement was made yesterday that colored voters of Richmond, who desire to engage in the Democratic primary of April 3, will meet tomorrow night at True Reformers' Hall, North Second Street, to discuss the situation, and to determine upon action in the event such attempt to vote may be frustrated. It is stated that the City Democratic Committee at a recent meeting received a letter from a group of colored voters asking information as to procedure, and that such letter remains unanswered. Colored voters who desire to affiliate with the Democratic party, headed by J R. Pollard, colored lawyer, will, it is averred, seek the right to take part in the coming primary, and it is to that end the meeting is called for tomorrow night.

It is believed the City Democratic Committee will be called to meet some time this week to complete its plans for the coming primary, and at that meeting the letter from colored citizens may be disposed of. Section 228 of the Virginia election laws provides:

"All persons qualified to vote at the election for which the primary is held, and not disqualified by reasons of other requirements of the party to which he belongs, may vote at the primary, except that . . . No person shall be permitted to vote for the candidate of any party unless in the last preceding general election he voted for the presidential electors nominated by such party, or for the nominee of the House of Representatives of such party, or the nominee of such party for Governor, or the nominees of such party for the House of Delegates; but if he did not vote at such general election, then upon his declaration that he will support at the ensuing election the nominee of the party in whose primary he wishes to vote, he shall be allowed to vote."

The primary plan of the Democratic party, adopted February 13, 1913, sets forth: "Who may vote—All white persons qualified to vote at the election for which the primary is held may vote at the primary," etc.

This plan is incorporated in the Virginia election laws, and it is upon the language contained in this first paragraph, in which "white persons" is clearly specified, that any contention may be based.

A notice sent out yesterday carries this language: "The colored voters of Richmond, such as desire to vote in the forthcoming Democratic primary, not having received any answer from their letter to the City Democratic Committee, requesting the abrogation of the rule which bars Negroes from the Democratic primaries in this city, have engaged lawyers, and will go into court and make a contest of the matter. J. R. Pollard, local colored attorney, is directing the legal end, assisted by several eminent constitutional lawyers."

The statement is made that Professor Rayford Logan, of the Virginia Union University, will address the meeting tomorrow night at True Reformers' Hall. Theodore W. Jones will preside.

In this connection, "The Richmond Planet," colored weekly newspaper, of which John Mitchell, Jr., is editor, in the current issue says:

"A colored citizen can declare himself a Democrat and vote, all other requirements having been complied with. He must vote, though, next November for the nominee of the Democrats' for President at the Houston convention. There is no use talking about the denial on the part of the Democrats to permit the colored citizens to vote. The question has been legally settled by the Supreme Court of the United States in the Texas case.

"Should the right be denied, each voter should proceed at once to the judge of the Hustings Court of this city, who is usually readily accessible on election days for just such purposes as these, and should the colored voter be able to establish the fact that he is a Democrat and that he has performed all legal requirements, save that of color, an order will no doubt be issued directing the judges of his precinct to accept his vote as a member of the Democratic party."

The colored editor goes on: "Are you a Republican? If you are, stay out of the primary. Are you a Democrat? If you are, walk up to the polls April 3, and vote for the candidate of your choice."

E. M. McClure, chairman of the City Democratic Committee, could not be reached last night. It is quite probable, however, he will have nothing to say in reference to the question raised, until the committee meets and takes action on the letter sent it by the group of colored citizens.

In discussing the situation last night leading Democrats stated that inasmuch as the State Democratic organization had adopted certain rules and regulations regarding party conduct, and had adopted the rule excluding all but "white Democrats" from the primaries, nothing could be done by the local committee until the State convention had changed the rules. It was further pointed out that the local situation could not be changed except by construction of the State laws by the courts.

NEWS
RICHMOND, VA.

MAR 21 1928

NEGRO DEMOCRATS TO ASK WRIT HERE

Will Seek to Compel Committee to Allow Them to Vote in Primary.

Negro Democrats of Richmond will apply in the federal court next week for a writ to compel the city Democratic committee to allow them to vote in the Democratic primary of April 3, they decided at a meeting of the Non-Partisan Voters' League last night in True Reformers' hall.

This action was taken following addresses by attorneys of both races and the reading of a letter from E. M. McClure, chairman of the city Democratic committee, in which it was stated that members of the league would not be allowed to participate in the mayoralty primary.

About 600 Negro voters attended the meeting, and it was estimated that about 5,000 desire to vote on April 3.

The legal fight will be handled by J. R. Pollard, Negro, legal director of the league; Alfred E. Cohen, who spoke last night, and other attorneys. The Austin, Texas, case, in which the supreme court of the United States ruled on alleged discrimination against Negro voters in a Democratic primary, will be relied upon in the legal fight, it was stated.

Mr. McClure's letter was written to Wilson Williams, Jr., secretary of the Non-Partisan Voters' League, and was dated March 20. It follows, in part:

"Please permit me to reiterate the stand that I have always taken in regard to such organizations, that you could hardly expect a Democratic organization, which is a strictly partisan one, to negotiate with any organization that is non-partisan. I am saying this in all friendliness, as you will readily see this when you attention is called to it. . . .

"I know the officials of your organization are thoroughly familiar with the primary laws of the state, as well as with the party plan of the Democratic party, from which plan it is obvious we have no right to deviate. The party plan can only be amended when the state convention meets."

Theodore W. Jones, president of the league, spoke at last night's meeting.

"The end sought by this league," he said, "is to put a stop to Negro disfranchisement by any political party, by whatever name, in Virginia for all time. It means to write the doom to the denial of our right to participate in the affairs of government because of our race or color."

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Post

MAR 22 1928

Negroes Demand Vote In Democrat Primary

Richmond, Va., March 21 (A.P.).—The News Leader says today that negro Democrats of Richmond have decided to apply in Federal Court next week for a writ to compel the city Democratic committee to allow them to vote in the city Democratic primary April 3 for the election of a mayor.

The action was taken, the paper says, at a meeting of the Nonpartisan Voters' League last night attended by about 600 negroes and addressed by attorneys of both races. The legal fight, the paper adds, will be handled by J. R. Pollard, negro, director of the league.

NEWS
RICHMOND, VA.

MAR 23 1928

Plan Fight Against Negroes in Primary

Preparations to fight the attempt of Negro Democrats to enter the primary to be held on April 3 were begun yesterday at a conference of state and city Democratic leaders.

Murray Hooker, chairman of the state central Democratic committee; E. M. McClure, chairman of the city Democratic committee; Wilmer L. O'Flaherty, member of the city electoral board, and Richmond Lacy, Jr., assistant city attorney, conferred with Assistant Attorney-General Leon M Bazile.

Negro Democrats have stated they will resort to the federal courts in their fight.

Herald
Suffolk - Va

MAR 21 1928

TO TEST THE LAW

Negro Democrats of Richmond want a voice in their party's primary and according to report will attempt to make it audible in the forthcoming primary. They are going into court presumably to force entry into the election and the outcome will be watched with interest all over the state if the effort is made. The Richmond Planet, a local negro weekly, says editorially:

"A negro citizen can declare himself a Democrat and vote, all other requirements having been complied with. He must vote, though, next November for the nominee of the Democrats' for president at the Houston convention. There is no use talking about the denial on the part of the Democrats to permit the negro citizens to vote. The question has been legally settled by the supreme court of the United States in the Texas case."

There is some doubt, however, whether the decision of the supreme court in the case mentioned settles the status of the negro in Virginia primaries or as to his rights in party refenda. This newspaper has taken the position since the decision in the Texas case that there is some doubt about the legality of the party law which is intended beyond a question to keep the negro voters out of Democratic primaries. Legal opinion as expressed throughout the state and editorial opinion of the press is not in harmony with that of The News-Herald, but we still contend the question is debatable. The Virginia primary law is an enactment of the state and upon it the party constructed its rules and regulations. Thus the state by indirection at least sanctions it and it might thereefore be considered in contravention of the fourteenth amendment.

Whether the Richmond negro Democrats are making the fight on principle or just for the satisfaction of getting into an election where they are patently not wanted, is also a debatable question. Perhaps they are sincerely Democratic and are aggrieved patriotically rather than racially, but there are reasons to doubt the depth and earnestness of negro voters who are traditionally and by choice against anything bearing the Democratic label.

THE PRIMARIES IN THE SOUTH

When the U.S. Supreme Court told a colored litigant that the state of Texas could not bar him from the primaries, many contemporaries and all the optimists "saw the promised land." When the judge of the court of law and equity at Richmond, Va., told another colored litigant that he could not force a Democratic primary to admit him to vote, those same people failed to see the point.

Three ideas influence American politics. For some reasons, we fail to get the significance. Disregarding things as they really are, we build a case upon suppositions and when it fails to hold we sulk, complain or give up.

The continued responsibility of the individual makes American government alert and responsive to the public opinion of the time. Election of government officials by political parties is the system by which majorities become responsible for the raising and expenditure of revenue. Finally, there abides the power and the right of a minority to change itself into a majority by legitimate means.

When our people have adopted all those means and have failed, it will be time to become discouraged and to blame misuse of power and place for our undoing. Meanwhile, it is incumbent upon public and private educational institutions to teach the children and youth of the race, what and how a democratic-republican government operates, and to give them practice in self-government.

The formation of a political party headed by men and women of our race consecrated to the advancement of the best interests of the people of their respective sections, and the extensive efforts to influence the formation of public opinion, would be in line with the rules of the game of American politics.

RACE WILL TEST STATE PRIMARY

Richmonders Expect To Go To United States Court

...OSE IN LOCAL COURT

By THOMAS L. DABNEY

Richmond, Va.—Virginia Negroes are again taking the initiative in the struggle of the race to win political equality with other racial groups as was the intention of the supporters of the Fifteenth Amendment to our national constitution. That the white officials of the state are determined to circumvent the purpose of this amendment is evident from the ruling of Judge Beverly T. Crump of the Law and Equity Court on last Friday, before whom the petition for mandamus compelling election officials to permit James O. West, colored, to vote in the Tuesday Democratic primary election was argued.

Governor Byrd Comments

Governor Harry F. Byrd, in commenting on the primary case on Saturday in conversation with the writer expressed the opinion that this case is one which the courts will have to settle, implying that he had no official interest whatsoever in the matter. On the question of the recent law against lynching, the Governor said that there would be no difficulty, in his opinion, in executing it since the law was passed by a Democratic legislature and has the support of a large element within the white race.

Judge Crump's Ruling

According to Judge Crump's ruling, what is denied to the State in the matter of discriminating against a group of citizens on account of race, color, etc., may be done by a political paty, for he said: "They (parties) may say who may vote in the primary." By this statement, of course, the Judge meant that the Democratic party was acting within its rights when in convention at Norfolk in 1924 it made the ruling that Negroes be barred in the Democratic primaries.

Negroes who wish to vote in the primary elections contend that any ruling of the Democratic party or any other group which bars them from primary election on account of race color etc., is in conflict with both the spirit and the letter of the Fifteenth Amendment of the Federal Constitution. Lawyer J. R. Pollard, prominent colored citizen of Richmond who ran against Carter Glass for the U. S. Senate in 1920 has charge of the case assisted by Alfred E. Cohen able white lawyer.

This primary case has the support of one of the leading Negro organizations of Richmond—The Non-Partisan League of Colored Voters. The president of the league, Theodore W. Jones, is a retired business man of wide influence and ability; the secretary, Prof.; Nelson Williams jr., is a graduate of Columbia University; and the treasurer, Emmett C. Burke is cashier of the St. Luke Bank and Trust Company and a man of high character and standing among the colored people of Richmond.

Separate Registration Books Kept

Lawyer Pollard pointed out to the ... that separate books are kept voters in the city and that the list of colored voters is never carried to the polls on primary election days. Colored voters therefore, appearing at the polls on such elections have been denied the right to vote and have been given no consideration whatever. Lawyer Pollard also pointed out that the denial to participate in the Democratic primaries is tantamount to political discrimination and the distruction of the political rights of colored citizens inasmuch as the regular elections in Virginia and other Southern states amount to only a farce.

To Go To Supreme Court

According to Lawyer Pollard the case will be carried directly to the Federal Court. In fact he said he did not expect a favorable ruling in the Law and Equity Court since no Southern court has passed favorably on any case involving the political rights of colored people. Lawyer Pollard and all the colored people of Virginia regard the question of the primary and colored voters one of the most important questions which the race is facing in the South at the present time; and they intend to fight for political rights in such primaries at all hazzards.

Blackstone, Va., Courier
Friday, March 30, 1928

NEGRO DEMOCRATS SEEK VOTE IN THE PRIMARY

Richmond, Va., March 29.—The Richmond City Democratic committee has the power to abrogate the Norfolk convention rules, which provide that only white citizens may vote in Democratic primaries, J. R. Pollard, Negro, declared at a meeting of Negro Democrats last night in

The Negro Democrats assembled, about 200 in number, were told of the filing of mandamus proceedings in the law and equity court yesterday for the purpose of testing the ruling of the white Democrats.

Political - 1928

Suffrage

Virginia

File Papers Today to Force Judges to Admit Negro Vote

TIMES DISPATCH
RICHMOND, VA.

Writ of Mandamus to Compel Action Will Be Sent to Law and Equity Court and Respondents Must Answer by Friday.

MAR 27 1928

A writ of mandamus to compel election judges in the First Precinct of Madison Ward to allow James O. West, Negro, to vote in the Democratic party primary of April 3 will be filed in the Law and Equity Court today, and the respondents, A. C. Bliley, William Boltz and William Ricker, will be required to answer before Judge Beverley T. Crump by Friday.

Attorneys for the plaintiff will report to a mass meeting at True Reformers' Hall tonight at 8:30 o'clock when Rev. Charles S. Morris will be the chief speaker. Theodore W. Jones, president of the local colored Democrats, will preside, and there will be music.

The petition is as follows:

"Your petitioner, James O. West, respectfully represents unto your honor, the following case:

"That he is a colored man, over the age of 21 years; that he is a citizen of the United States; that he has resided in the State of Virginia for more than two years last past; that he has resided in the city of Richmond for more than one year last past; that he has resided and will continue to reside in the First Precinct of Madison Ward, in the city of Richmond, Va., for more than thirty days next preceding the primary election, to be held in the city of Richmond, Va., on the third day of April, 1928, for the nomination of candidates for Mayor, Councilmen and Aldermen, for the city of Richmond, Va.

"That your petitioner is, at this time, a registered voter in the city of Richmond, Va., and qualified to vote in said primary, and in the next succeeding general election for the candidates nominated in said primary at the First Precinct in Madison Ward, Richmond, Va.; that for many years past your petitioner has been a member of the Democratic party, voting at all times for candidates of the Democratic party, in the general election, and in the last general election held in the city of Richmond, Va., your petitioner voted for all the candidates of the Democratic party.

"Your petitioner further shows unto your honor that it is his desire to vote in the Democratic primary, to be held as aforesaid, for the candidates running for the several municipal offices in said primary, that he has upon several occasions heretofore been denied that right on account of his race and color, because of the primary plan of the Democratic party in Virginia, adopted on the eleventh day of June, 1924, and which provides as follows:

"Who may vote? 'All white persons

LEDGER-DISPATCH
NORFOLK, VA.

MAR 29 1928

Negro Democrats Start Fight For Vote In Primary

Richmond, Va., March 28. (AP)—Negro democrats of Richmond, through their attorneys, yesterday filed a petition in law and equity court for a writ of mandamus to compel the judges of the first precinct in Madison ward to allow James O. West, a negro, to vote in the city democratic primary on April 3. The case is regarded as a test of the democratic committee's ruling that Negroes may not vote in the democratic primary.

TIMES DISPATCH
RICHMOND, VA.

MAR 31 1928

NEGRO DEMOCRATS BARRED IN PRIMARY

Judge Crump Sustains Demurrer to Mandamus Petition.

Negro Democrats cannot vote at the Democratic primary of April 3. Judge Beverly T. Crump, in Law and Equity Court, yesterday sustained demurrer to a petition for mandamus compelling election officials at First Madison Precinct to permit James O. West to cast his vote in the Tuesday election. The petitioner was represented by Alfred E. Cohen and J. R. Pollard, the latter a colored lawyer, while the defendants, the precinct officials, were represented by Leon M. Bazile, Assistant Attorney-General. No further action was indicated by counsel for the petitioner, so it is believed no effort will be made at this time by Negro Democrats to vote in the Democratic primaries.

In delivering his opinion, Judge Crump declared the party primary a party affair—not a State affair. He asserted that statutes covering primaries were in exercise of the police power rather than election legislation denying rights of citizenship provided under the fourteenth and fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution.

Cites Primary Laws.

The primary law leaves regulation as to who may engage in party primaries just as they were before passage of the exisiting law. The judge is quoted as saying:

"This petition is based upon the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the national Constitution, which provide there shall be no discrimination against a citizen on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude. The application of these amendments in general as to the franchise rights of colored citizens well established. The results are that these amendments must be given full effect and where State officers make such discrimination relief can be used.

"This case, however, relates to the primary election, and it is well known that while primaries are regulated to some extent by law, primary elections differ materially from general elections. This was established in the Newberry case."

Judge Crump further said:

"But to come down to our primary plan, it is well known that political parties formerly used conventions to a great extent. Later, when private primaries were resorted to, they were conducted privately within the parties. Frequently there was disorder, and hence the States established a primary law. The primary law does not interfere with the rights of a party to hold a primary or convention. It directs that the officers of primary elections shall be officers of the law but it does not restrict parties to prescribe party rules. It is clear that parties conducting primaries under this law have the same rights as to making laws as they had before the law was adopted. They may say who may vote in the primary."

Gives Oral Opinion.

Extended argument was indulged in by counsel for both sides. The judge gave an oral opinion, having considered the petition several days, and later issued the following order:

"This day came James O. West and filed his petition praying for a writ of mandamus in accordance with its terms, and thereupon the respondents appeared by their attorney and filed their joint demurrer to the petition, and likewise their answer thereto, whereupon the petitioner joined in the said demurrer and the same was argued before and submitted to the court. And the court, being of opinion that the denial of the right to vote at the primary election mentioned in the petition is not a discrimination against the petitioner on account of color, nor a denial to him of the exercise of the elective franchise within the intendment of either the fourteenth or the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, doth sustain the defendant's demurrer on the first ground assigned therein.

"It is accordingly ordered that the said petition be dismissed with costs."

The plaintiff in the case is James O. West, a qualified voter of Madison Ward. The defendants are A. C. Bliley, William Voltz and William Ricker, election officials of the First Madison Precinct. Willam L. O'Flaherty, secretary of the Electoral Board, and E. M. McClure, chairman of the City Democratic Committee, of Richmond, were interested spectators

qualified to vote at the election, for which the primary is held, may vote at the primary; provided, however, that no person shall be permitted to vote unless such person is a member of the Democratic party, and at the last preceding general election, in which said person participated, voted for the nominees of the Democratic party; provided, further, that if he did not vote at such general election, then, upon his declaration that he will support, at the ensuing election, the nominees of the party, he shall be allowed to vote. When challenged, he shall make his declaration on oath.

Says He Is Denied Vote.

"And it is manifest, by the foregoing plan of the Democratic party, and it is thus distinctly shown that A. C. Bliley, William Boltz and William Ricker, who have been designated judges of the First Precinct of Madison Ward of the city of Richmond, Va., in the forthcoming primary election aforesaid, have no intention to permit your petitioner to vote in said Democratic primary in said precinct, on account of his race and color, as it is the desire of your petitioner to do, as hereinbefore set forth.

"That because of the foregoing plan of the Democratic party, your petitioner will be denied the right to vote in the said forthcoming Democratic primary, which said plan and the purpose and intention of the said judges of election to deny him said right is in contravention of his rights under the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

Claims Eligibility to Vote.

"Your petitioner further shows unto your honor that because of the foregoing statement of facts, your petitioner is entitled to vote in the forthcoming Democratic primary hereinbefore mentioned, and, your petitioner is without any other adequate remedy at law, or in equity, to enforce his right to vote, other than by a writ of mandamus, which he prays this honorable court may issue against the said A. C. Bliley, William Boltz and William Ricker, judges of election at the first precinct in Madison Ward, of the city of Richmond, Va., who are hereby made respondents to this petition.

"And your petitioner prays that they may be required to answer the same; that a peremptory writ of mandamus may issue from this honorable court, requiring the said respondents, as such judges of election as aforesaid, to permit your petitioner to vote in the forthcoming Democratic primary, to be held in the city of Richmond, Va., on the 3rd day of April, 1928, for the nomination of candidates for the municipal offices hereinbefore set forth."

TIMES DISPATCH
RICHMOND, VA.
MAR 31 1928

THINKS NEGROES SHOULD BE ADMITTED TO THE PRIMARY

To the Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

Sir,—Public attention was directed to an article appearing in your issue of March 23 under the heading, "Will Resist Court Action by Negroes." Kindly permit the writer to comment on the article by saying that the Negroes of Richmond and the State of Virginia have made progress in spite of harsh criticisms; in spite of unavoidable attacks; and in spite of inevitable handicaps.

That this progress made must be considered extraordinary when measured by any standard cannot be gainsaid. Negroes have engaged in real estate, insurance, banking and other substantial business enterprises. They have opened the closed doors of the learned professions, have become doctors, lawyers, teachers and college professors of no mean ability.

They have furnished this great government with soldiers who have won victory upon many a hard fought field of battle. Then how absurd for our Democratic friends to insinuate that Negroes have not acquired the fundamentals of education and the possession of property necessary to participation in a Democratic primary, when they are paying taxes on millions of dollars' worth of property, both real and personal? Is it not strange that fair-minded white men will wish to bar intelligent Negro citizens from participating in a primary, or to deny them the right to vote, while extending these same rights to the poorest and most ignorant white man in the State?

Surely no such principle or contention as indicated above can be successfully defended anywhere, or in any court of law. It is true the Negroes are denied the right to vote not by the State but through the operation of a primary election law. But, the primary election law is recognized and indorsed by the State of Virginia. Can the State do indirectly what it cannot do directly? Furthermore, the expenses of the whole primary machinery are paid out of public funds collected by taxation from all the people, white and black alike. Does not this process of disfranchising the Negro result in "taxation without representation"?

No matter how cunningly devised the law is; no matter how much it is cluttered up with words, the plain fact stands out clear as the noon-day sun, that the object, the intent and the practical effect of the law is to deny Negroes the right of franchise because of race, color and previous condition of servitude. And it is the belief of many that on the lowest level of consideration the city of Richmond cannot attain its greatest eminence, nor can Virginia ascend to the highest degree of Statehood, until by wise and equitable policies they shall foster the best interests; shall guarantee the fullest well-being; shall uphold the most sacred rights of the humblest citizen, irrespective of race creed or color.

The article in question further recites that a "group of 5,000 Negroes would hold the balance of power on April 3rd if permitted to vote and they stuck together." The question is what difference would that make, since the candidates are Southern white men and Southern Democrats? It may be true that not one of them will make an ideal chief executive. It may turn out that the one elected will not develop into a progressive Mayor for a progressive city, but since they are the best the Democratic party has to offer, they must be accepted by the Negroes.

It is fair to say that all the colored people of Richmond want is to help the best white people elect a Mayor who has courage and manhood enough to do what is honest, just and right. They would like him to be as capable as possible, and in addition well experienced in public affairs. If he measures up to this standard it matters little to them that he is a Democrat; that he belongs to this or that faction of the party; or that he is elected to office by 5,000 or 10,000 Negro voters.

In conclusion it may be said the way the situation looks to the proverbial "nigger in the wood pile" is that the real contest is between the Mayor and the ex-Mayor. To many it is questionable if a doctor's office, a few medical books and a poor practice, is the right sort of background from which to expect a great business administration, or a progressive chief executive for a great city. One thing is certain and that is should the ex-Mayor be returned to office he will look and act more like he belongs there and is Mayor for all the people, than any one has in the last four years.

THEODORE W. JONES.

Newport News, Va., Times-Herald
Sunday, March 25, 1928

NEGROES SEEK PRIMARY VOTE, CITE TEXAS LAW

Democratic Leaders of Virginia Confident, However, That Ruling on Texas Law Has No Bearing on Virginia Statutes, and Do Not Fear Any Court Action Now Discussed.

Leaders of the Democratic party in Virginia are preparing to resist threatened court action by negroes of this state who want to participate in the primaries to be held on April 3. There is a concerted attempt on the part of Richmond negroes to participate in the mayorality primary there, according to reports from that city, the colored people claiming that the Virginia election law is in the same category with the Texas law, which recently was declared unconstitutional by the United States supreme court.

A comparison of the Texas law which was declared invalid and the Virginia primary law shows a wide variance, So carefully was the Virginia law drawn, it is believed that its constitutionality will be upheld if the Federal court is called to pass upon it.

The Texas law specifically bars Negroes from participation in a Democratic party primary.

The Virginia law does not deal with a particular party, nor does it specifically bar any race. It gives the parties the right to make their own rules and regulations.

The Texas law attempts, on the part of the State, to discriminate, whereas the Virginia law itself does not discriminate in any way. If there is discrimination at all, it is on the part of the individuals making up the Democratic party. The courts have held, lawyers assert, that the Constitution prohibits discrimination by the United States and States, but not by individuals.

Negroes are barred from Democratic primaries entirely by the Texas law. But, under the Virginia law, they could participate in any primary if the party holding the primary permitted them to.

The Texas law reads: "All qualified voters under the laws and the Constitution of the State of Texas who are bona fide members of the Democratic party shall be eligible to participate in any Democratic party primary election, providing such voter complies with all the laws and rules governing party primary elections; however, in no event shall a Negro be eligible to participate in a Democratic party primary election held in the State of Texas and, should a Negro vote in a Democratic party primary election, such ballot shall be void and election officials are herein directed to throw out such ballot and not count the same."

Section 228, Code of Virginia, says: "All persons qualified to vote at the election for which the primary is held, and not disqualified by reasons of other requirements in the law of the party to which he belongs, may vote at the primary." At another point, the Code continues: "The words 'law of the party,' as used in this section, shall be construed to mean the law or rules and regulations adopted by the State, district or local authorities of the party under whose auspices the primary is held not in conflict with the party plan of such party."

The Virginia election law makes no effort to limit the number of parties, simply providing a minimum of votes for recognition.

TIMES DISPATCH
RICHMOND, VA.
APR 25 1928

South Will Not Let Negroes Vote, Senator Carter Glass Declares

The South does not want Negroes within her boundaries to vote, and moreover, has no intention of permitting them to exercise the right of suffrage, Senator Carter Glass, of Virginia, states in an article in this week's "Liberty."

While Southern election laws conform to the letter of the Constitution, they violate its spirit, Senator Glass declares. He pointed out that the North violates the prohibition amendment just as the South violates the amendment giving Negroes the right to vote, adding that "it's all right with me" what the North does with the spirit of the eighteenth amendment.

Says All States Guilty.

In part the Senator said:

"Every State in the Union equally discriminates against certain of its citizens. All are equally guilty of violating the fourteenth amendment. Why doesn't the North go ahead and order reapportionment, as provided by the second section of that amendment? It is to laugh!

"Finding that the fourteenth amendment could not be enforced to the letter, the North hypocritically cleansed its conscience before the bar of history and the judgment of posterity by adopting the fifteenth amendment—and then, like a coward, refused to provide a penalty for its being ignored. In other words, the North kept the record clear for the Negroes to read, if they ever learned how, and then, finding the common sense of the North reassuring itself, promptly forgot all about these miserable, non-enforceable war-time amendments.

"The people of the original thirteen Southern States curse and deride and spit upon the fifteenth amendment—and have no intention of letting the Negro vote.

"We obey the letter of the amendment and the Federal statutes, but we frankly evade the spirit thereof—and purpose to continue doing so. White supremacy is too precious a thing to surrender for the sake of a theoretical justice that would let a British African deem himself the equal of white men and women in Dixie.

Challenges Wets.

"As to the eighteenth amendment and its nullification, I want to say now that if the North can find some way to keep within the letter of the eighteenth amendment and the Volstead act and still get its booze, it's all right with me what it does with the spirit of the law.

"It just so happens that brighter minds drew up that amendment and the dry statute than drew up the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, and I imagine the liquor interests will have a hard time getting their booze under the terms of the dry measure.

"Down South we regard the fifteenth amendment as a curse to progressive government, because in resisting it we have become a one-party section. It would be far better if we were not correctly called the Solid South; if we were split into two parties or more. But you can be sure we will continue to be a Solid South as long as any effort is made to let the blacks dominate us via the ballot box."

Political - 1928

Suffrage

LEDGER-DISPATCH
NORFOLK, VA.

JUL 11 1928

LESS RIGID SUFFRAGE LAWS

Among the constitutional amendments approved by the people on June 19 was that reducing the time of residence for new citizens of the state to qualify to vote. Under the Constitution of 1901-2, which went to extremes in limiting the franchise, ostensibly for the purpose of barring the Negro from participating in elections, two years' residence in the state was required and one year in a locality before a person could qualify to exercise the right of suffrage.

The amendment referred to permits a man or woman to qualify after one year's residence in the state and six months in the locality, and persons who will have been in the state one year by November 6 next may now pay their poll tax and register to participate in the Democratic congressional primary on August 7, as well as in the presidential election this fall. Those who were assessed with poll taxes for 1927 must have paid this particular levy on or before May 6 before they can register, but the Attorney-General holds that any person who came into the state after January 1, 1927, may now qualify by paying the 1928 poll tax. Likewise, persons who have moved from one part of the state to another and who have resided in a city, county or town for six months previous to November 6 are eligible to qualify by transfer of their registration.

Reducing the time for qualification of voters by reason of residence is a commendable liberalization of the rigid election laws of Virginia. The original recommendation of the Prentis Commission also provided for halving the six months requirement for prepayment of poll taxes, but the ancient fear of the Negro vote in the so-called Black Belt counties resulted in elimination of this proposel. However groundless this fear may have been, use of the argument was effective on the General Assembly, and the people were not permitted to vote on a further liberalization of the franchise.

A year's residence before a new citizen may be permitted to qualify is proper, and will prevent a colonization of "floaters," even if there should be a return to the old-time manipulation of elections in Virginia, for no politician would trust this class of voters that long nor make the financial outlay that far in advance of a contest.

While the election laws of Virginia are still too stringent and offer comparatively little encouragement for a full vote at any election, the changes made in the constitutional amendments now in effect are a step in the right direction. It should be borne in mind, in criticizing the election laws, that it is seldom that 50 per cent of the qualified vote in this or any other state goes to the polls, and that, while less rigid provisions might be helpful, the task of arousing voters to their duty as citizens is yet the biggest of all problems.

NEWPORT NEWS
VIRGINIA

MAY 19 1928

COLORED VOTERS PLAN FURTHER RALLIES HERE

Leaders Among Negroes of City Announce That Several More Rallies Will Be Held Between Now and Election Day, June 12; Silent as to Candidates.

Two or three more colored political rallies are scheduled to be held between now and the general election of June 12, according to negro political leaders, who aver that never in the history of this city have they known the negro voters to display such interest in an election.

On June 12 three members will be elected to serve on the city council for a period of four years. There are five candidates in the field, three Democrats, one Republican and one Independent. One of the most influential men in the colored community stated this morning that the colored vote would be cast in a block, for the issuance of bonds to erect a new colored school and administration building, which is also included in the ticket, and for three councilmen, whom they have already fixed upon. Various rumors as to which of the candidates will receive the colored vote have proved to be nothing more than rumors, for those in close touch with the situation state that they "don't tell names and tales, too."

Several meetings have been held and special workers detailed to make a canvass of the colored community to insure a full vote being cast.

Virginia.

TIMES DISPATCH
RICHMOND, VA.
AUG 9 1928

Mrs. Sarah Lee Fain Tells Reasons for Sectionalism

Sees Race Question Real Cause for Southern Solidarity.

SPEAKS AT INSTITUTE

Norfolk Woman Legislator Addresses Public Affairs Body.

CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA., Aug. 8—(AP)—The South is a distinct section and must be reckoned with accordingly, Mrs. Sarah Lee Fain, member of the Virginia House of Delegates, declared here tonight in her address, "The Solid South—Its Cause—Its Future" before members of the Institute of Public Affairs of the University of Virginia. The race question is the chief reason for the South remaining sectional, Mrs. Fain said.

"It is a grave problem," she continued. "It has been the cause of the South's greatest woes. It will require the thoughtful consideration of our forward-looking citizens until a satisfactory solution is reached. Time may solve it, but a definite policy must be found. Tradition is too deeply embedded in the hearts of the older men to enable them to approach the problems of the present and future with open minds. We cannot fail to honor the loyalty of our fathers, but if we would return our beloved South to her former place of national prominence, we must look to our young men to chart her new course and form her new policies."

Traces History of South.

The Virginia stateswoman traced the history of the South, the cause of its unity and some of the results obtained in such unification brought about through the labors of war and travail of reconstruction. Differences political and social between the South and the New England States, she said, dated back to the Revolution. Intense rivalries between the sections became wider and resulted in the civil conflict of 1861.

Mrs. Fain spoke in part as follows:

"You will agree with me that never since the War Between the States has there been a time when the eyes of the world have been focused on the South as they are today. It seems most fortunate, therefore, that we of the South, who are gathered here at this great university, situated just a few miles from the capital of the old South, should have this opportunity to discuss our problems with you who come from all parts of the United States. You obtain a perspective of our part in the nation's drama which the nearness of our position does not afford us.

MRS. SARAH LEE FAIN.

"To speak about the South may be considered provincialism. The true aim of all Americans should be to inculcate a spirit of nationalism. We ought to lose sight of sectional differences and think only of one nation, inheriting the same traditions, uniform in its standards and ideals. Of course, it would be unwise to attempt to standardize American life, but, by each section contributing its best, the nation would attain a symmetry because of the varied contributions made it.

Really a Distinct Section.

"To be honest, however, we must admit that the South is a distinct section to be reckoned with—just as New England, the Middle West and the Far West. It has inherited certain tendencies and a temperament difficult for those living beyond its borders to understand. To one within its borders there are explainable facts concerning its political solidarity, its economic problems, and the fixed opinions of Southerners on religious and moral issues.

"The race question is the principal

reason for our remaining sectional. It is a grave problem. It has been the cause of the South's greatest woes. It will require the thoughtful consideration of our forward-looking citizens until a satisfactory solution is reached. Time may solve it, but a definite policy must be found. Tradition is too deeply embedded in the hearts of the older men to enable them to approach the problems of the present and future with open minds. (Old men make wars. Young men pay the price. Such has been the story of every nation.) We cannot fail to honor the loyalty of our fathers, but if we would return our beloved South to her former place of national prominence, we must look to our young men to chart her new course and form her new policies.

Reviews Reason for Sectional View.

"Let us review the reasons why the South has so long remained a section difficult of interpretation by the rest of the country. We must not pronounce our critics uninformed, but, may it not be true that those who criticize us do not understand our problem? Many of them are sons of men who followed Grant. It is still a little difficult for them to be unprejudiced. The Solid South was born of a struggle that began with the colonization of America early in the seventeenth century, a struggle between the South and New England, which passed through various forms. First it was economic rivalry; then it was political rivalry, and finally it grew into bitter differences over the question of social reform. One led inevitably to the other, and all were interwoven. Virginia was settled in 1607 and New England thirteen years later. Both came from the same kind of stock—the English. From 1640 to the outbreak of the War Between the States intense rivalries and jealousies were manifested. There arose differences in principles of politics; there were differences in climate and soil, differences in social conditions and in the general circumstances of the people; and these differences became wider and wider until, when the anti-slavery movement was at its height, it required but little urging on the part of the radical abolitionists to precipitate warfare.

"The underlying causes of the war were the doctrine of States sovereignty and slavery; but slavery was the occasion rather than the actual cause of the conflict.

Issue Historical.

"The issue of State sovereignty, and the right to secede, went back to the American revolution itself; and both Northern and Southern leaders at different times supported it.

In the days following the American Revolution the Colonies held that each State became sovereign by virtue of its successful revolution against England. Under the crown there had been no political connection between the Colonies. The treaty of 1783 recognized them as "free sovereign and independent States." The Articles of Confederation recognized this sovereignty and the theory of State sovereignty was maintained in the convention that framed the Federal Constitution in 1787. Threats of secession were made by leaders in New England as far back as 1790, and again prior to and during the War of 1812. Secession was looked upon by all the States as the most potent remedy for Federal agression. With this political theory rooted in the minds of Southern leaders it was not surprising that the agitation against slavery prompted the Southern States to look upon secession as their right and destiny.

"When the social reformers of the East were pushing their erstwhile pet doctrine, they forgot their former theory of States rights. . . .

Beginning with the appearance of a Dutch slave ship off Virginia's shores in 1619, the slave trade was carried on along the American coast from New England, until the year 1700. From the first many Southern leaders had opposed it. In Virginia, where an intelligent political and social leadership has been maintained since early Colonial days, all, or nearly all, the leaders, soldiers and statesmen, alike had opposed slavery, at one time or another. Washington was against it; Jefferson tried to put an end to it in his State and in the nation, and "Stonewall" Jackson and Robert E. Lee, two of the world's greatest soldiers and greatest men, opposed slavery. But they believed that the sovereign States should protect their rights of self-determination. . . .

Civil War's Vast Cost.

"It is difficult to determine the exact cost of the war, but the best sources available place the cost at $3,250,000,000 for the North and $1,500,000,000 for the South; but this does not include the incalculable loss of property spffered by the people of the South, including war damage and the freeing of the slaves, which had real property value.

Nation in Grant's Time.

In 1868, Ulysses S. Grant was elected President. On March 30, 1870, the fifteenth amendment was adopted and proclaimed, establishing universal manhood suffrage. This was particularly designed to give the Negro the right to vote. Of course, the Southern States in the congressional election of 1870 went Democratic. This gave the Republican members of Congress such concern that they forthwith enacted enforcement legislation providing penalties for the violation of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, and re-enacted the civil rights act of 1866.

The more intelligent people of the North began to use the folly of such persistent oppression on the part of the Northern radicals in Congress, and public opinion in the North demanded more leniency. The result was the repeal of the "iron-clad oath" for former Confederates in 1871, and the passage of the general amnesty act of 1872, which restored the Southern whites to their former civil rights.

Lincoln's emancipation proclamation, the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution, and the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments were all designed to solve the Negro problem. The Lincoln edict abolished slavery in the South; the thirteenth amendment abolished it by organic law throughout the Union; the fourteenth made him a citizen; and the fifteenth made him a voter. Commenting on the Negro and his history in America, Viscount James Bryce, in his "American Commonwealth" declared, "Rights which the agricultural laborers of England did not obtain until 1885, were thrust upon these children of nature, whose highest form of pleasure had hitherto been to caper to the strains of a banjo."

"Perhaps there are many in my audience who are saying "the war is over"—"reconstruction days are passed"—"the old South is a new South with a new economic outlook"—"if the South expects to succeed in national affairs tear down her one party system. But these statements are not the heart of the story. Why not be honest about the whole matter?

"According to the census reports of 1920, there were approximately 16,000,000 white persons in the eleven Southern States that made up the Confederacy and 8,000,000 of the 10,000,000 Negroes in the United States live in the South. This reveals that only about two-tenths of the country's Negro population today lives in the other States of the Union.

Current Comment

WHAT OTHER EDITORS ARE SAYING

The Colored Voters

From the (Petersburg) Progress-Index

The Norfolk Journal and Guide, which we regard as the ablest Negro newspaper in the country, doubts whether colored voters should continue to support the Republican party. The Journal and Guide recognizes that it was that party which put the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments into the constitution, but it also recognizes that the Republican party has not since that time manifested any real interest in the Negro and willingness to help him. The Journal and Guide concludes:

> The time may or may not be propitous for the race to initiate a wholesale defection from the Republican Party. The political future of the Negro is still in the lap of destiny, and none can correctly prophesy the outcome. One group of the race will decide that the time has come to recast political alignments, while another group will continue to pin their faith to their first love. That is the way of politics and independent rational beings, but those who will remain loyal to the party will do so rather because they hope to see it redeem itself from its past apostacy rather than because of the suggestion of paramount virtue in Mr. Hoover's stand on prohibition.

In other words, the colored newspaper thinks colored voters may, in spite of everything, continue to cherish the hope that the Republican party will prove itself the honest friend of the colored race. When Dr. Samuel Johnson was asked what he thought of the action of the remarriage of a widower whose wife had led him a turbulent life, he replied, "I should say it was an instance of the triumph of hope over experience." The ku klux klan in Virginia and in every state where the klan has an existence, is supporting Hoover. If the colored voters really are bent upon voting for the Republican candidate this year, it might be well for the Republican national committee to provide for the organization of a Negro ku klux klan.

The Negro And The Republican Party

From the Greensboro Daily News

From the Norfolk Journal and Guide, most intelligently edited of the Negro newspapers which come into this office, we quote two paragraphs from an editorial article entitled, "Prohibition and the Negro":

> Ever since the Republican party put the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments into the constitution vouchsafing to the Negro human and citizenship rights, the race has through a half century of travail sought to have these basic statutes transformed into realities, and the victory is not yet in sight. Those amendments are monuments of sound morality in government and beacons of equity in man's relation to man. No later appendage to the constitution supercedes them in moral direction or righteous acclaim, the 18th amendment notwithstanding. To urge the race to stand in solid phalanx in support of the party, which, though possessing the power and the obligation to correct, has for 40 years acquiesced, even initiated nullification of these amendments, simply because it now has a candidate for the presidency who declares for prohibition as now exists, seems to constitute the veriest sort of encouragement of nullification.
>
> The time may or may not be propitious for the race to initiate a wholesale defection from the Republican party. The political future of the Negro is still in the lap of destiny, and none can correctly prophesy the outcome. One group of voters of the race will decide that the time has come to recast political alignments, while another group will continue to pin their faith to their first love. That is the way of politics and independent rational beings, but those who will remain loyal to the party will do so rather because they hope to see it redeem itself from its past apostacy rather than because of the suggestion of paramount virtue in Mr. Hoover's stand on prohibition.

The fact that this is inferentially an argument away from Hoover and in the direction of Smith is incidental to the fact that it is a statement of reasoning which either does not ordinarily come from the Negro himself or if it does come from him, rarely gets into public notice. To what extent this attitude exists is difficult to find out. The Journal and Guide finds trouble estimating whether there is to be a "wholesale defection from the Republican party," which is the only measuring rod for the feeling here set forth; and the Daily News would not pretend to any accurate knowledge.

There have been many reports that Negro support would turn more to the Democratic candidate this year than ordinarily, but in all such talk the assumption is that other factors are decisive, generally the fight of the ku klux klan on Governor Smith. It would be surprising indeed if the klucker argument was not effective. But here is something entirely different in the charge that the Republican party has—to use a word which in current political language is stretched into many meanings—nullified the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments. Such an argument does not explain why the Democratic party would offer any greater hope.

Political - 1928

Suffrage

STAUNTON, VA.

Leader

MAY 2 1928

CALL NEGRO VOTERS TO A MASS MEETING

All colored men and women who are eligible for registration and voting are requested to be present at a mass meeting at the Palace auditorium Thursday, May 3, at 8 p. m.

A member of the committee of colored men responsible for the above call, explained that people of both sexes, particularly those just reaching the voting age, would be instructed as to how to proceed in registering, the duties of a voter, etc.

NEWS

RICHMOND, VA.

MAY 4 1928

GORDON B. HANCOCK ANSWERS MR. GLASS ON NEGRO DISFRANCHISEMENT.

Editor The News Leader:

Sir,—Senator Carter Glass' recent deliverance on the Negro question was unfortunate.

It was not only an affront to every Negro citizen of this country, but it failed to do justice to the statesmanship of the new South. Fifty years ago Senator Glass would have been hailed as "hero and deliverer"; but more and more the statesmanship of the new South is being engrossed in the larger issues confronting the nation, leaving the Negro question as a bone of contention among ward politicians. On the curb of the South's public opinion the stock of the "hold-the-Negro-down" politician is selling "short;" and a "knock-down-drag-out" attitude of the Negro question is no longer all-sufficient evidence of sagacious statesmanship. When Senator Glass avers "the South does not intend to let the Negro vote," he evidently forgets that the South of the future will have something to say about the matter; and Senator Glass utterly disregarded a growing element of whites in the South who feel ashamed to longer tremble before the ghost of "Negro domination" when all the laws and all the wealth and all the armies and all the navies are at their command. These more liberal whites are becoming more and more unable to see the wisdom of spending millions to prepare the Negroes for citizenship that is to be denied. These more liberal whites are more and more disdaining a supremacy based upon the legally-imposed handicaps of the Negro, and they no longer take pleasure in flaunting the "red rag" of white supremacy in the face of a stricken race. They feel their responsibility as well as their power and take their greatness for granted. Bull dogs seldom bark.

Senator Glass' deliverance has three fundamental weaknesses. In the first place, he seeks to justify the South's position on Negro suffrage by pointing out certain practices of the North. In other words, he takes refuge in a position supported by the moral fallacy that two wrongs make a right. The extent to which Senator Glass delegates to the North the prerogatives of setting standards, he predisposes the statesmanship of the South to grave criticism both as to calibre and motive. Nobody concedes the North a monopoly in doing right and when Senator Glass has measured up to the North's standard he will come far short of moral perfection. Why should not the statesmen of the South set their own high standards rather than emulate the "limping standards" of the North? Senator Glass' position can hardly augment the prestige of the South's statesmanship for it shows a weakness that the South must in justice resent.

Again, Senator Glass' utterances are not calculated to inspire respect for the law. When the Senator defiantly boasts of adhering to the letter of the law but spurning its spirit, he sets a dangerous precedent for the oncoming generations of white men. Whether law can be repudiated today and evoked for protection tomorrow is extremely doubtful, and when Senator Glass assumes such position he is "sowing to the wind" of law evasion, and the rising generations must reap the whirl-wind of lawlessness. By showing disrespect for the law Senator Glass is striking at the very foundation of the white supremacy he boasts.

Finally, Senator Glass' utterances presuppose that might is right. He seems to feel that the South's power to disfranchise the Negro makes it right. The world frowned upon the German kaiser who took the same position; when he was calling treaties "scraps of paper" and when his valiant legions were battering at the gates of Liege. When the senator subscribes to the doctrine that might is right, he puts white supremacy at cross-purposes with Jesus Christ—a dangerous position. In spite of Senator Glass' attitude toward the Negro citizens of this country, the Negroes still hope for the ultimate ascendancy of a more liberal white South whose statesmen will glory in right as Senator Glass glories in might. In spite of Senator Glass millions of Negroes still have faith in the ultimate justice of the white South. In spite of Senator Carter Glass, Negroes still have left a measure of respect for white supremacy. The redeeming feature of the white man's supremacy are those whites who are not too proud nor powerful to seek the "more excellent way," and not too arrogant to consider the rights of those upon whom misfortune has laid its ruthless hand.

GORDON B. HANCOCK.

Virginia.

Newport News, Va., Times-Herald
Tuesday, April 24, 1928

SOUTH DOESN'T INTEND TO LET NEGROES VOTE

Letter of Constitution Is Obeyed But Spirit Is Openly Flouted, Glass Asserts; Wets May So Treat Dry Laws If They Can Find Way.

Dixie, according to Senator Carter Glass of Virginia, who is quoted this week in Liberty Weekly in an article on the South's view of the 14th, 15th and 18th amendments to the Federal constitution, doesn't want colored citizens within her borders to exercise the right of suffrage. Furthermore, says Senator Glass, Dixie has no intention of permitting the Negro to vote.

Southern election laws, Senator Glass says, conform to the letter of the amendments. The spirit is violated, however. Senator Glass is quoted as saying, not only in the South, but in every state, there being no commonwealth which does not impose voting restrictions of some sort.

But, "there's no more relation between what we do down South with those amendments and what the liquor-loving crowd would do with the 18th (prohibition) amendment than there is between the Copernican theory and the tax on putty in Peru," according to the Virginia Senator. Numerous cases were cited in the article to show that while state laws are in accord with the constitution, those laws are administered in a manner which keeps many Negroes from voting. Federal courts have held that they have no jurisdiction in such cases.

Senator Glass is quoted in part as follows:

"Every state in the Union equally discriminates against certain of its citizens. All are equally guilty of violating the 14th amendment. Why doesn't the North go ahead and order reapportionment, as provided by the second section of that amendment? It is to laugh!

"Finding that the 14th amendment could not be enforced to the letter, the North hypocritically cleansed its conscience before the bar of history and the judgment of posterity by adopting the 15th amendment—and then, like a coward, refused to provide a penalty for its being ignored. In other words, the North kept the record clear for the Negroes to read, if they ever learned how, and then, finding the common sense of the North reasserting itself, promptly forgot all about these miserable, non-enforceable war-time amendments.

"The people of the original thirteen Southern states curse and deride and spit upon the 15th amendment— and have no intention of letting the Negro vote.

"We obey the letter of the amendment and the federal statutes, but we frankly evade the spirit thereof—and purpose to continue doing so. White supremacy is too precious a thing to surrender for the sake of a theoretical justice that would let a British African deem himself the equal of white men and women in Dixie.

"As to the 18th amendment and its nullification, I want to say now that if the North can find some way to keep within the letter of the 18th amendment and the Volstead act and still get its booze, it's all right with me what it does with the spirit of the law.

"It just so happens that brighter minds drew up that amendment and the dry statute than drew up the 14th and 15th amendments, and I imagine the liquor interests will have a hard time getting their booze under the terms of the dry measure.

"Down South we regard the 15th amendment as a curse to progressive government, because in resisting it we have become a one-party section. It would be far better if we were not correctly called the Solid South; if we were split into two parties or more. But you can be sure we will continue to be a Solid South as long as any effort is made to let the blacks dominate us via the ballot box."

Richmond Negroes See Victory in the Franchise Fight

RICHMOND, Va., June 13—(ANP)—Negro citizens are prepared to fight for their right to the franchise to the last ditch and according to their leaders, believe that their efforts will be crowned with victory.

This sentiment was expressed freely at a mass meeting held Friday night at the True Reformers Hall, at which time Attorney Joseph R. Pollard, Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, and M. A. Norrell were the principal speakers. Each speaker urged the gathering to vote Tuesday when Richmond's next mayor is selected.

Negroes were refused the opportunity to vote in the democratic primary and Mayor J. F. Bright was renominated. There have been independent candidates injected in to the fight and indications are that Negroes will support one of the independents, if permitted to vote. A concerted battle has been waged since the April primary and it is reported that campaigners for the independent candidates have sought the Negro vote, which is reported as totaling about five thousand.

NEWS

RICHMOND, VA

JUN 2 1928

LIBERALIZING VOTING QUALIFICATIONS.

So numerous are the improvements proposed in the constitutional amendment resolution No. 1, on which the people will vote at the special election of June 19, that it is not practicable to compass them in one article but, believing that the people should vote understandingly, The News Leader purposes to discuss some of the most important of the amending sections from time to time. There are many changes which are designed simply to improve the verbiage of the present constitution or to remove obsolete matter therefrom, but there are others which strike at the root of present grievances as voiced by the people, and these should be thoroughly understood. It should always be remembered, however, in the consideration of proposal No. 1 that the main question which the voter must ask himself or herself is whether or not the changes proposed therein as a whole make for the betterment of conditions in Virginia. It is hardly possible that all of the changes contained in this proposal will meet with the unqualified approval of any one of us. We must take exception here and there in some matters of detail. But if weighing the good and that which seems not necessary we come to the conclusion that the good preponderates, we should cast our ballots accordingly. And let it be remembered that none of the so-called controversial questions, such as those relating to tax segregation and the short ballot, is involved in Proposal No. 1.

The most striking change proposed in the article regarding "Elective Franchise and Qualifications for Office" is the provision which seeks to cut in half the time of residence which has been prescribed as among the necessary qualifications of the voter. The present constitution fixes two years in the state and one year in the county, city or town as the requisite period. Why a residence of

such length was required in 1902 will be understood by readers whose adult life covered that period, but may require explanation for some of lesser years.

The convention of 1901-02 was called primarily to exclude from the electorate the illiterate and ofttimes purchasable Negro vote. In this it succeeded beyond its most sanguine expectations. The Negroes who vote in Virginia today are not of the class indicated. In order to circumvent the inhibitions of the "war" amendments to the federal constitution designed to crush the South, the convention was compelled to adopt many franchise requirements, all having the same end, but framed in the hope that if one or more were declared void others would stand the test in the supreme court of the United States. And the lengthy residence period section was one drafted with such intent.

At that time the Negroes were, especially within the confines of the state, a very migratory people. Few of them owned land. Most of them were laborers, and many of these were constantly moving from country to city and from county to county in the hope of securing employment. The provision as to one year's residence in the locality disqualified thousands of this class from voting. The provision as to two years' residence in the state disqualified thousands of others who, from time to time, returned to Virginia after a sojourn in the North. Furthermore, the Virginian of 1902 was somewhat suspicious of the white stranger, of the white man who came in from Pennsylvania, or West Virginia, or even North Carolina, and had little confidence in him until, by long residence, he had established a reputation as an upright man. People who live in the rural districts will recall the fact that they looked askance at those who, about the end of the last century, began to drift across the Mason and Dixon line to buy small farms in Virginia.

But times have changed. The Negroes, little by little, have acquired land, and now, in these days of automobiles and general quick transportation, are more attached to the soil and probably less migratory than the majority of the white people. Our attitude towards the white immigrant has changed. We want him and we want him to feel at home when he comes here. We desire that he participate in solving our governmental problems just as soon as he has resided here fficiently long as to indicate his purpose to nain. Consequently, it is proposed that residence requirement be reduced to one in the state and six months in the ty, city or town. Can there be any t as to the wisdom of this?

RICHMOND BLACKS EXPECT VICTORY IN FRANCHISE FIGHT

Richmond, Va.—(ANP)—Negro citizens here are prepared to fight for their right to the franchise, to the last ditch and according to leaders believe that their efforts will be crowned with victory.

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TIMES DISPATCH
RICHMOND, VA.

JUN 9 1928

NEGROES ARE JUBILANT OVER THEIR PROSPECT OF 'OBTAINING RIGHTS'

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has characterized the Richmond effort to secure the vote for Negroes as "the most important act for Negro rights," Joseph R. Pollard, attorney, told a mass meeting of Negroes in True Reformers Hall last night. Speakers expressed themselves as unanimously in favor of proposed amendments as submitted by Governor Harry F Byrd and with one exception declared they were against re-election of Mayor J. Fulmer Bright and at a mass meeting Monday night would attempt to enlist every Negro voter to cast a ballott for "whomever might be the independent candidate."

Negro's Leader Here.

That Walter White, nationally known Negro leader had visited Richmond recently and had approved the filing of suit against the election judges in Federal Court, was announced by Attorney Pollard, who said: "If Virginia can do it (disenfranchise the Negro by primary laws) then all States can and carried out logically we can lose all our rights by the same method."

He said: "The entire country is interested and will back Richmond if Richmond will take the lead and leaders who have seen copies of our pleadings here have approved and if the case goes to the Supreme Court we will have Morefield Storey and Lewis Marshall as counsel."

Later he said of the Mayoralty contest: "If we had 5,000 qualified voters we could choose the Mayor Tuesday, but we never anticipated this crisis to determine the future of Democratic primaries. We now see the very men who refused us admittance to the primaries canvassing us to join with them to defeat the same primary system. It's doomed to go and the rejected colored people are being petitioned to vote both this Tuesday and next."

Assails Ku-Klux.

He spoke of the amendments as "practically a complete revision of the Constitution" and of Ku-Klux Klan opposition to Governor Byrd, he declared: "Anything the Klu-Kluck favors I'm opposed to."

"Somebody is anxious for the colored brother to vote next Tuesday," Attorney Pollard said. "Mayor Bright never has asked us to vote or has he done anything for us. We are supposed to have 40,000 registered voters in Richmond. Is it fair for 7,000 to choose the officeholders? Mr. Hirschberg and Mr. Ainslie together got about 10,000. Dr. Bright is the minority choice.

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, of the faculty of Virginia Union University, spoke of what he called the "gospel of pessimism" and predicted the Negro would suffer much during the next twenty-five years. He said:

"The very fact that Senator Glass and the Ku-Klux are against the amendments would make me favor them. We are being elbowed out and we have no redress. Negroes are even being squeezed out of bootblack and windowwashing jobs."

M. A. Norrell, the Negro leader who has been active in Community Fund work, was the only co..fessed Bright supporter. He said: "The average Negro is fair. When the three men, Ainslie and others entered the primary they bound themselves to support the nominee. Now these poor white folks want to use the Negro as a tool. They promise jobs, but can you trust promises of those who break oaths? This movements is fostered by renegades—who were licked and don't want to take their medicine. I'd rather the poor whites carried garbage anyway. We don't want their jobs. I want justice for the Negro. Why George Ainslie, even if there isn't any choice between them for us?

Richmond, Va., News-Leader
Thursday, October 11, 1928

REGISTRATION AT ALEXANDRIA ENDS

Already 5,582 Persons Have Registered; Books Close Saturday.

ALEXANDRIA, Va., Oct. 11.—(Special to The News Leader.)—With 5,582 persons registered for the presidential election, a record has been reached in Alexandria, a city which never before has had such a large voting list.

Of this number 5,519 are on the books of City Treasurer Roger C. Sullivan as qualified, and approximately sixty-three others have taken advantage of the ruling of the attorney-general on the one-year residence. Of the grand total 585 are Negro voters, the largest number ever listed in recent years.

Before the closing time on Saturday sixty-nine young men who have just attained their majority and sixty young men and women who will be 21 before November 6 registered.

Of the white registrations in the four wards, not including the voters which will be added to the books, the result is as follows:

First—Male, 501; female, 423.
Second—Male, 485; female, 380.
Third—Male, 938; female, 856.
Fourth—Male, 674; female, 548.

The number of male voters registered is 2,598 and female 2,207, a total of 4,805, plus 585 Negro voters, with sixty-three new voters added make the grand total.

The highest mark reached previously was 5,253 in May, 1927, for the race for the state senate and house of delegates. Alexandria has 306 more voters than ever before in her history.

Political- 1928

Washington

Suffrage

SPOKESMAN-REVIEW
SPOKANE, WASH.

OCT 15 1928

REGISTER COLORED VOTERS

Hoover Club Makes House to House Canvass.

Determined to see that all voters of the colored colony in Spokane are registered before tomorrow night when the books close for the general election, the Hoover and Curtis Colored Republican club, at a meeting last week, appointed a committee to make a house to house canvass of their race and urge them to go to the registration office and qualify to cast their votes.

The committee appointed includes J. D. Humphill, Mrs. E. C. Williamson, Ross Houston, Mrs. J. T. Coger, Clarence Grubbs, Miss Beatrice Teel Wilson, E. C. Williamson, the Rev. E. B. Reed, Mrs. E. N. J. Sims, Mrs. A. C. Houston, the Rev. E. N. J. Sims, George E. Anderson, Dr. John H. Thompson, William Mash.

The committee will continue its work up to and including election day, November 6.

Political-1928

West Virginia.

Suffrage

INTELLIGENCER
WHEELING, W. VA.
JUL 26 1928

DEMOCRATS BIDDING FOR NEGRO BALLOTS

SMALL CHANCE OF SUCCESS; CANDIDATE TAYLOR A "JIM CROW" ADVOCATE

Charleston, W. Va., July 25—(Special)—Political observers, following developments in West Virginia's battle for ballots in November, are viewing with keen interest the bid Democratic leaders are making for the Negro vote in this state. For the past several weeks a quiet and subtle campaign has been underway and overtures have been made to leaders of the Negro race with the hope of prying these votes from the Republican Column and thereby reducing the heavy margin now enjoyed by the majority party.

The Republican chieftains, however, are not becoming apprehensive or alarmed. They have decided to wage their campaign entirely upon the record of the party and the past record of their nominees and regard the outcome with confidence. They believe that the Negro race is familiar with the beneficial legislation that has been sponsored by the Republican party in the past in its behalf and that they will not be "hoodwinked" into deserting the party that has so long rendered them helpful assistance.

In this connection the return of Henry D. Hatfield of Huntington, Senatorial nominee, is proving an important factor, for the legislation enacted during his administration as governor, in behalf of the Negro race, proved the most constructive of any administration before or since and included among other outstanding achievements the establishment of West Virginia Collegiate Institute and educational measure that gave the Negro youths of the state the same educational opportunity that was enjoyed by the white youths.

"Jim Crow" Advocate

The fact that J. Alf Taylor, Democratic nominee for governor, while a member of the house of delegates from Fayette county, during the seasion of 1921, introduced a bill to segregate the Negro passengers on all railroads in West Virginia, is also regarded by Republican leaders as seriously hampering the efforts of Democratic chiefs to win the Negro voters.

It is generally conceded that "Jim Crowism" went out of date in West Virginia with the Civil war and observers of things political are speculating on the manner in which the Democratic leaders can justify their bid for Negro voters in view of their gubernatorial nominee harboring anti-Negro sentiments when a member of the legislature seven years ago.

No exodus of Negro voters from the support of General William G. Conley, Republican nominee for governor, is expected by Republican leaders and they are confident that the great mass of these voters will remain steadfast in support of the whole Republican ticket in November.

Mr. Taylor's bill was short-lived, for the legislature of 1921 was overwhelmingly Republican, and the measure, introduced on January 25, 1921 was referred to the committee on railroads, where it died the painless death of "piegon-hole" doom.

Political - 1928

Wisconsin

Suffrage

Dublin Ga. Courier-Herald
Tuesday, April 3, 1928

THREE PRIMARIES TODAY TO SELECT STATE DELEGATES

To The Two National Party Conventions.

STRONG BATTLE ON

Wisconsin To Select 26 By Each Party; New York 83 Republicans, 86 Democrats, Maine 12 Democrats

Washington, D. C. April 3.—(AP)—First of the April crop of delegates to the national political conventions in June are being picked today by both republicans and democrats. These parties are making selections in three states today.

In Wisconsin the primaries will name a delegation of 26 for each party. New York will vote on ratification of states of 83 district republican candidates, and 83 district democratic delegates. In Maine the democrats assembled to select a delegation of 12 to attend the Houston convention, and the republicans in the Sixt district of Kansas are to name two convention representatives to complete the state delegation of 23.

APR 5 1928

THE NEGRO VOTERS.

One of the closing chapters of mayoralty campaign was a republic rally designed to hold the Negro vo which was addressed by a colored ge tleman imported from out of town, w has the prestige of having been a de gate to several national conventions.

At this rally the argument was offer that the republican party has alwa been the friend of the Negroes, th they would lose standing in it if th allowed themselves to become disa fected in the mayoralty campaign ar that the thing for them to do was stay within the party and support i candidates and make themselves a fac tor which would have to be heeded.

Appealing for votes upon a raci basis is not a commendable enterpris by whomever engaged in it. It may b said, however, that if the Negro voter of Hartford heeded this reasoning the followed bad advice. As long as an party feels that the Negro vote is owne by it, body and soul, and cannot b pulled away, Negroes will get small con sideration. On the other hand, if th party were made to realize that it coul not hold the Negro vote without show ing some consideration for Negroes, it managers would be moved to treat th Negro citizens with scrupulous consid eration.

Hartford Negroes will do very wel to disregard the advice of the out-of-town gentleman who was imported t impress them and to maintain a position of strong independence, yielding no suffrage to any party which attempts to treat them as mere chattels or as unimportant factors in its scheme of things.

JOURNAL
MILWAUKEE, WIS.

JUN 23 1928

Politics Rouses Negro Session

Lawsuit of Barred Voter Aided by Excited Delegates

A quiet negro religious convention, which has been discussing ecclesiastical matters at the Auditorium all week, suddenly took a political turn Saturday noon and the delegates, who are attending 4,500 strong, were thrown into an uproar for the first time.

Final business of the annual session of the National Baptist Young People's union and Sunday School congress was being brought to a close Saturday.

Political discrimination against the negro in the south—alleged to have prevented negroes from exercising their constitutional right of franchise—was what caused the excitement. Three negro leaders made impassioned pleas to the delegates for support of a civil suit which is being brought by a negro voter of Pensacola, Fla., asking $5,000 damages because he was prevented from voting in the Democratic primaries last spring.

Collection Taken Up

A resolution pledging support of the plaintiff was passed and a collection was taken among the thoroughly aroused delegates. The suit, if successful, will be followed by other suits by the 1,500 registered voters who were driven from the polls at Pensacola.

The Rev. B. H. Hogan of Pensacola spoke in excited language of the situation in his city, and his talk was greeted by cheers and choruses of amens.

A fight to the finish to put negroes on a par with white men politically in practice as well as constitutionally, was made by the Rev. W. H. Jernigan, Washington, D. C., president of the congress.

Needs Right to Vote

"The greatest need of the negro today is the right to vote," the Rev. Mr. Jernigan said. "I will never be satisfied until by people are redeemed."

The Rev. Page M. Beverley of Richmond, Va., denounced "lily-white" rule in the south.

"Lily-white" rule, he explained, is the rule in the south of northern whites who have come south and identified themselves with the Republican party to get government jobs.

Political - 1928

Alabama.

Office Holding

Patronage For Jobs Charged

Postmistress 'Asked To Give Funds'

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., Aug. 6.—(Special.)—A second case of alleged Republican corruption in methods pursued in post office appointments in Alabama was bared Monday, when Miss Annie K. Jones, Democrat and former postmistress at Irondale, revealed that she had been asked to contribute a sum amounting to 10 per cent of her yearly salary to the Republican campaign fund.

The system employed in filling postoffice jobs in the state was first attacked last Monday by Dr. Joseph H. Cooper, Tuscaloosa physician and unsuccessful applicant for the postmastership of that city in 1924, who asked a senatorial investigation of the matter on the grounds that his name was eliminated from the list of eligibles for the position because he refused to contribute to the campaign fund.

The case involving Miss Jones was first revealed by Dr. Cooper, following receipt of a letter from the Irondale woman, explaining how she had been approached with a request for donations to the campaign fund; how she had refused, and how she later was denied reappointment.

The report issued by Dr. Cooper was confirmed Monday afternoon by Miss Jones, sole supporter of an aged mother and sister, who, after serving two terms was replaced as head of the Irondale postoffice on July 1 by a Republican appointee.

"Some time during the year 1925," Miss Jones said, "Mr. McEniry, father of the postmaster at Bessemer, Ala., came to me and asked a contribution of 10 per cent of my yearly salary to be used as funds in the Republican campaign."

She said she was distributing the mail when McEniry entered the postoffice, introduced himself, told her he wanted to talk over a matter that could not be discussed in the post office, and asked if she would not come outside. "I told him I was busy at the time and that he would have to wait," she said. "After a few minutes I walked outside and met him. He told me it was a violation of the law to solicit campaign funds from a civil service employe in the government building, and then he asked me if I would not contribute to the fund."

She said the man first asked for 10 per cent of her yearly salary, but when she told him it would be impossible for her to give that much he asked if she wouldn't give "something, $30 or $40." "I refused to give anything," she added, "stating that I did not have to pay for my appointment, and he replied that he would have to send my name to Mr. Street."

Before telling her this, according to Miss Jones, the man read the following excerpts from a letter which he claimed had been received by him from O. D. Street, Republican national committeeman:

"Send me names and amount of each postmaster who contributes; also the names of those who refuse."

Miss Jones said she told him he was at liberty to send her name to Mr. Street, and added: "I suppose he did for I was not reappointed in July by the Republican party."

Miss Jones said she stood first on civil service examination for the position and that a survey had revealed that 98 per cent of the people of Irondale wanted her to remain in office.

Neither Mr. Street nor Mr. McEniry could be reached Monday for a statement.

The letter written by Miss Jones to Dr. Cooper has been forwarded to Senator Smith W. Brookhart, chairman of the senatorial investigating committee, Dr. Cooper said.

Political - 1928

California.

Office Holding.

Appoint Race Man A City Prosecutor In Los Angeles

LOS ANGELES, CAL., (A.N.P.)—Marking the first time in the history of the state that a colored man has received an appointment from either city or county administration, Atty. Bert McDonald has been appointed Deputy Prosecutor of the city of Los Angeles.

The appointee is one of the comparatively few genuine native sons, being born in the city in 1899, educated in the 14th Street School, Los Angeles High School and the University of Southern California, receiving his B. A. degree in 1923, making him one of the youngest lawyers in th estate. He is a prominent worker in Wesley Chapel M. E. Church

Political-1928

Office Holding

PERRY W. HOWARD CONF'DS SNOOPER COMMITTEE

Ben. Davis and Perry W. Howard, national committeemen respectively, from Georgia and Mississippi, were before the Senatorial snooping committee which is investigating the money spent by the several candidates for the Presidential nomination. When Mr. Davis was called before the committee on Tuesday he testified to having received $2,000 from Rush Holland, one of Hoover's managers. He told the committee how this money was spent. Mr. Davis made a rather poor witness, not seeming to know just what the money he had was spent for. In other word, Davis seemed to have had stage fright before the committee.

In contradistinction to Mr. Davis, Perry W. Howard made an excellent witness and answered the questions put to him in a way that showed that he knew what he was talking about and was prepared to give intelligent answers to the questions put to him. Mr. Howard's statement that if it was shown that he had been double-crosed by the lily white faction in Missisippi, which is espousing the Hoover cause, that the Missisippi delegates may not support Hoover for President, made a profound impression on the committee and on the Hoover campaign management. Mr. Howard's testimony before the committee is as follows:

About February 1 his political supporters told him, Howard said, that the sentiment was for Hoover.

"I thought it good politics to support Hoover," Howard asserted. John H. Cook, district attorney for Mississippi, white man, the witness said, had supported his organization and then formed an independent organization.

Shows $5,300 Deficit.

The regular organization, said the witness, had not been affected by the new Hoover supporters. Howard presented a statement of the Mississippi Republican State committee's expenditures, which showed $2,947 spent, and receipts of $2,223. Chairman Steiwer said the statement showed a total deficit of $5,300 incurred by the committee.

Howard said his Hoover Washington headquarters was closed last Saturday, when he had been notified Hoover's national headquarters were being closed. Howard said he used part of his Washington Hoover allowance in Missisippi. He said he was feeling "a little threadbare" about getting the last $1,000 promised by the Hoover organization.

Howard presented a list of expenditures showing $2,061 expended by him in Mississippi. The $2,000 he received from Holland was included.

The other $2,000, Howard said, was paid $200 a week, and also used to a large extent in Mississippi.

Delegates Uninstructed.

The Misisissippi delegates, he said, were uninstructed. If it developed, he said, that he had "been double-crossed" by the Crosby organization, which he termed "a lily white" organization, he might not vote for Hoover. Howard said, however, he was not making any charge that such a thing even was contemplated. Howard said "all told" about $6,000 had been spent in Hoover's behalf in Mississippi. Steiwer, however, figured $4,000 from the Hoover fund, $2,900 raised in Mississippi and $4,900 deficit, which has not yet been paid, made a toal of $11,800 spent by Howard's organization in Mississippi in Hoover's behalf.

Howard was recalled after being excused and said that he understood the Crossby faction of "lily white" Republicans had spent money liberally for Hoover in Mississippi and he believed more than his organization

J. HAYDEN JOHNSON IS RE-APPOINTED

The judges of the District Supreme Court Tuesday reappointed Dr. J. Hayden Johnson as a member of the Board of Education of the District of Columbia. He is one of three colored members serving on a board of nine persons. Dr. Johnson is finishing his twelfth year on the board. Each member of the board is appointed for a term of three years. He will begin his fifth term July 1.

Mrs. Henry Gratton Doyle was appointed to succeed Mrs. Howard L. Hodgkins who resigned because of ill health. Dr. H. B. Learned was reappointed.

GEORGIA COMMITTEEMAN FIGHT STILL UNSETTLED

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 28—(By A.N.P.)—The case of B. J. Davis versus Jos. E. H. Watson opened suddenly Thursday when the National Republican Committee met and closed just as abruptly with the affairs just as muddied as ever when a motion to seat Watson was deferred indefinitely.

This fight which had its genesis in the early pre-convention days and was brought to climax at the convention with each one claiming victory. The case was referred to the National Committee for settlement but the settlement did not result Thursday. Watson presented affidavits showing nine and one half votes to six and half cast for Davis' re-election.

Mrs. George S. Williams was officially seated.

Rumors are rife that the national committee plans to delay the devision until after the campaign is over and then designate Josiah Rose, collector of Internal Revenue and white, referee in chareg of patronage. Rose is a native of Ohio and has lived in Georgia for ten years.

Fearing that the Negroes of Georgia would suffer under such arrangement, friends of Watson and Davis have sought in vain to get them together. Watson claimed Davis double-crossed him in promising him the secretaryship of the State Committee and for the past three years has held the three jobs himself, each of which paid a salary. He further claims that Davis forced all of the Georgia districts to bear part of the campaign expenses and kept the money given him by the Hoover forces in his pocket.

JEFFERSON APPOINTED TO TUSKEGEE

Samuel S. Jefferson, a landscape gardner of this city, has been appointed at the U. S. Veteran's Hospital, Tuskegee, Ala., effective June 15.

Mr. Jefferson is a native of Washington, where he received his elementary training. He is also a product of Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Insitute and of the School of Industrial Art, Philadelphia, Pa.

For fourteen years he has been operating a successful business in the District of Columbia, as a landscape gardner, serving some of the most aristocratic families of the city.

SAMUEL S. JEFFERSON, local landscape gardner, to go to Tuskegee.

G. O. P. Women Draw Color Line on Mrs. Booze

The spirit of lily-whiteism is still prevalent in the ranks of the G. O. P. This week when the Republican National Committeewomen met here and they had a luncheon it is reliably reported that Mrs. Booze, the Committeewoman from Mississippi, was not invited to the luncheon.

When a representative of the Baltimore Sun interviewed Mrs. Hert she made a statement to that paper as follows:

Mrs. Hert explained that the Mississippi committeewoman was not included among her luncheon guests because there was no room for her. Arrangements, she said, was made several days ago, and the member from Mississippi had written that she would be unable to attend the meeting. Consequently no reservation for her was made, Mrs. Hert said.

"It is untrue that the Republican women drew the color line at our luncheon," Mrs. Hert added. "At the Kansas City convention I entertained all the colored national committeewomen at tea. It is the usual custom for a special table to be provided for colored members of our committee.

"No arrangements were made for Mrs. Booze, for we did not expect her at the meeting, and I was surprised when she arrived. It was impossible to change our arrangements so she could be included at luncheon. I do not know where Mrs. Booze had luncheon today, as I was using the telephone when she left the hotel. Mrs. Booze is not a person that would push herself in, as I know her to be a refined and well-mannered woman."

FROE BOOSTED FOR ASST. U. S. ATTY. GENERAL

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Recorder of Deeds Arthur G. Froe is to be elevated to a full Ass't U. S. Attorney Generalship, it is said here, to arrest defection of Negro Republicans due to what is regarded as Republican persecution of Perry W. Howard, indicted Mississippi Republican national committeeman and practically ousted Special assistant attorney general.

Mr. Howard's position did not require confirmation by the Senate.

Mr. Froe's elevation to be a full-fledged assistant attorney general will.

It is said that the plan calls for a man from some doubtful State as Froe's. Ohio, Illinois, New York, are listed as doubtful next November. Hence among those whose names are seriously mentioned in this connection are: W. Phil Dabney and E. B. Curry, of Ohio; James A. (Billboard) Jackson, Illinois, and George W. Harris, New York.

Who They Are

Mr. Dabney is an author, musician, Editor of the "Cincinnatti Union". Dr. Curry is head of the institution founded by him at Urbana; he was elected as delegate-at-large from Ohio on the Hoover slate to the National Convention at Kansas City. Mr Jackson is at present supervisor of small business section of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce in the U. S. Department of Commerce here and Mr. Harris, ex-Alderman of New York City, is Editor of the "New York News".

Twice Confirmed

Reasons for transferring Froe to the Department of Justice are overwhelming. First, he has twice got Senate confirmation without difficulty, namely, in 1922 when appointed Recorder of Deeds by President Harding, and in 1926 after re-appointment by President Coolidge. He has ever stood pat against segregation in his department; defied the District Commissioners when asked to approve rent vouchers for the building which houses the Recorder of Deeds' Office here; is a very successful lawyer in Federal and State courts, of 25 years standing, and comes from a State considered doubtful because a popular, sitting Democrat is up for re-election to the U. S. Senate. This State is West Virginia, with the only State-organized group of registered, voting Negroes, mobile, well-led, excellently disciplined.

It was also said that the plan first contemplated naming Robert L. Vann, of Pittsburgh, for the Justice post in succession to Mr. Howard but was later abandoned, as Vann comes from rock-ribbed Republican Pennsylvania, and has semed to be flirtatious with the Democrats.

Neval Thomas Threatens Defection From Hoover

In Letter to Attorney Willebrandt He Scores Attack On Race Leadership

WASHINGTON, July 26.—Neval H. Thomas, head of the Washington branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is wrought up over the "persecution of Perry W. Howard." In a letter sent to Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt, he said her activities in Mississippi are not aimed solely at Howard and his political associates, but at "the great Negro race."

"Perhaps you think you have deceived the colored people by your tactics at Kansas City and your entry into Mississippi to save it for white supremacy," said Thomas' letter.

"This whole scheme against your colleague, the Honorable Perry W. Howard, was concocted right here in Washington by the servants of Mr. Hoover to take from the colored people the last vestige of influence and prestige in a degenerate political party that has lived on the Negro for years, and still lives on him while it double-crosses him and abandons him to his enemies.

"I would have you know that your antics cannot fool a child. You are not trying to clean up politics. If you were, you would do a few things in the Department of Justice, in every department of our government here, in the affairs of the Republican Party in every state of the Union, and in the patronage grabbing of other National committeemen, and in your national convention which was filled with office holders away from their work on government pay, and delivering their votes and their souls for other emoluments.

"No, my dear lady, you are deceiving no one but yourself. Your industrious (and, as you think, shrewd) activities are not even against Mr. Howard. They are against the colored race. Mr. Hoover and his machine have turned the Negro over to the Rebel South in the foolish notion that he can break it, and at the same time hold the Negro in line in a dozen Northern states where he can determine the Presidency. We issue the challenge, and we will meet you in November at the polls.

"On your holy crusade you passed through half dozen states in which the Constitution of the United States, that you are pledged to defend, is most flagrantly violated, and admittedly so, even in so high a place as the United States Senate. The fourteenth and fifteenth amendments are outraged every day, and even the thirteenth, for through the infamy of peonage, there is slavery as complete and brutal as that destroyed by the blood and carnage of the Civil War. You landed in Mississippe where every conceivable crime is committed against our Constitution, yet 'you opened not your mouth.'"

Thomas warns Mrs. Willebrandt that the Negro voter will turn from the Republican party.

"We shall meet the faithless party at the polls. Every Negro newspaper in the country is railing against the outrage, informing our millions of this last assault upon their liberties. If Mr. Howard were guilty of everything you disclose, he would only be following the ancient and well-understood policy of all politicians, namely, manipulating the appointments. No, you are not after Mr. Howard; you are after the great Negro race."

Political - 1928

Office Holding.

A. G. FROE MAY GET HOWARD'S PLACE

Washington, D. C., Aug. 1.—Rumor here has it that Recorder of Deeds Arthur G. Froe may be appointed to the position of full U. S. assistant attorney general in the place of erry W. Howard, now under fire for the alleged sale of federal ojbs in Mississippi.

The appointment of Froe is said to be contemplated to assuage the injured feelings of black Republicans who feel that Howard is being persecuted an dthat the Republican party is seeking to get rid of all black men in influential positions.

Phil Dabney and E. D. Curry of Ohio and J. A. (Billboard) Jackson of Illinois, are mentioned as possible successors to Froe, should he be appointed to the higher position.

HOWARD START S'UTH TO FACE ACCUSERS

Miss. National Committeeman Charged With Sale Of Federal Offices

HEARINGS NOV. 7

Howard's Attorneys Cite Plans In Jury Indictments

WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov.— Perry W. Howard, Republican national committeeman for Mississippi, Monday, began the first lap of a journey which will probably take him to Jackson, Miss., to defend himself against charges of trafficking in Federal office.

He went from here to Chicago where he will remain until election day. From Chicago he may go to Jackson, Miss. The hearing of all motions in the case against him is set for November 7. The trial of the case has been peremptorial set for December 10.

Mr. Howard is under indictment with Edward L. Patton, S. D. Redmond. A. M. Redmond and Scott Hubbard, a white man. They are charged with conspiring to violate the Federal law against the sale and purchase of public offices.

Jury Picked

The defendants are seeking to have the indictment quashed. One of their grounds is that there were no colored men on the panel from which the special grand jury was drawn. They claim that the grand jury was selected from their political opponents who were bent upon returning an indictment regardless of the evidence.

They also claim that the jury panel was illegally drawn. The jury commission, they say, consisted of three Republicans. It should have been made up of two Republicans and one Democrat.

Mabel Improper

The defendants also ask that the indictment be quashed on the ground that improper persons were in the grand jury at the time the indictment was voted. They refer to Mabel Willebrandt, white, assistant attorney general, who went to Mississippi to present the charges against Mr. Howard to the grand jury; Miller E. McGilchrist, a special assistant to the attorney general, who accompanied Mrs. Willebrandt, and J. C. Tyler, white, former United States marshal for the southern district of Mississippi who failed to get a reappointment because Mr. Howard would not endorse him for the office.

Not Enough Names

They also allege that there were not the required number of names in the jury box. The law provides that there shall be 600. There were only enough in the box to procure the special grand jury, the defendants claim.

A motion to dismiss the charge is based upon the contention that there is no supporting evidence to the testimony of Anselm P. Russell, white, who testified that he gave Mr. Howard the sum of $1,500 for his appointment as United States marshal in the southern district of Mississippi.

Instructions

The defendants claim that Mrs. Willebrandt, who left before the indictments were returned, gave specific instructions that if no witnesses were presented to the grand jury corroborating the testimony of Russell, no indictment should be returned against Mr. Howard.

She thought at the time, it is said, that Hubbard would testify that he came to Washington with Russell and saw him give the money to Mr Howard.

APPOINT FINANCIAL ADVISER TO LIBERIA

Coolidge Recommends John Loomis, White, Following Resignation Of Sidney De la Rue

WASHINGTON, D. C., Aug. 9.—John Loomis (white), former treasurer general of Santo Domingo, has been appointed financial adviser to the Republic of Liberia, under the terms of an agreement with the Finance Corporation of America and the National City Bank. The appointment was announced by the State Department last Wednesday.

Under the agreement between the Liberian government and the American bankers, the financial adviser is appointed upon the recommendation of President Coolidge. The text of the announcement by the State Department is as follows:

"Word was received August 1 at the State Department that the Liberian government had accepted the resignation of Sidney De la Rue as financial adviser to the Republic of Liberia, and had appointed John Loomis, of Strasburg, Va., as his successor.

"Mr. Loomis was recommended to the Liberian government for the position by President Coolidge under the terms of the 1926 Loan Agreement between the Liberian government and the Finance Corporation of America, and the National City Bank of New York, fiscal agents, which provides for the appointment to its service by the Liberian government of a financial adviser, to be designated by the President of the United States to the President of Liberia, and, subject to the latter's approval, appointed to that office.

"Mr. Loomis has had extensive experience in governmental finance, having served in the Philippine government service 1905-1916 and in the customs receivership of San Domingo 1916-1920.

"He was treasurer general of the Republic of San Domingo 1920-22, and after engaging in private business in Cuba for two years, became a member of the American Financial Mission to Persia, where he occupied the post of provincial director of finance of the three Eastern provinces of Persia until March, 1928, when the mission was withdrawn from Persia.

"Mr. Loomis is 50 years of age and is married. He expects to sail for Liberia at an early date to assume his duties as financial adviser."

NEGRO MESSENGER, 76, WILL USHER IN PREMIER

Eddie Savoy, 60 Years With the State Department, Has Become an Institution.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 4. — When Prime Minister MacDonald calls upon Secretary Stimson at the State Department tomorrow morning he will be ushered into the presence of the Secretary of State by one who is credited with knowing by sight more diplomats and statesmen than any other man in this country. That person is Eddie Savoy, diminutive and aged negro, who nas been messenger to Secretaries of State since 1869.

Eddie, who will be 76 on his next birthday, is an institution at the State Department and is known by his first name among diplomats all over the world. Every envoy who comes to Washington, every distinguished foreign visitor who calls upon the Secretary of State, automatically passes through his hands.

He greets the diplomats at the elevator in front of the Secretary's office, he assigns them to an anteroom when a wait is necessary, and he decides upon the order of their announcement when more than one is present.

The old doorman has never met Premier MacDonald, but he remembers Balfour, Briand, Lloyd George, Caillaux, Stanley Baldwin, the Prince of Wales and a host of other illustrious personages, and he can tell you what King Albert of Belgium said when he opened the door for the King on his visit to the department in 1919.

Reverting to another age, Eddie sometimes will become reminiscent concerning the visit of Dom Pedro, Emperor of Brazil, who came to the United States during the Philadelphia exposition more than fifty years ago.

Eddie crossed the Atlantic with the American delegation which negotiated the Treaty of Paris ending the Spanish-American War. During the period before the United States entered the World War it was Eddie who saw to it that Ambassadors of the Allies and those of the Central Powers, all frequent callers at the State Department, were never escorted into the same anteroom, and he also delivered passports to the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador when that envoy was invited to leave the United States.

The present Secretary Eddie discusses, but cautiously. Once, forgetting diplomacy for an instant, he said emphatically:

"Mr. Stimson knows exactly what he wants, and, gentlemen, he wants what he wants when he wants it."

NEGRO EMPLOYEES OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT SHOW TREMENDOUS EIGHTEEN-YEAR GAIN

From 22,540 employees in 1910, whose total yearly salaries aggregated $12,456,760, to 51,882, on June 30, 1928, whose yearly share of pay from the United States Treasury totals $64,483,133, is the story of the Negro workers who are at this time being carried on Uncle Sam's pay roll, as efficient and well-paid servants of the public trust of governmental service. During the interim, at the close of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1923, the Negro civil-service personnel of the Federal Government was surveyed and found to number approximately 51,805 workers, with a total annual earning capacity of $52,655,959.

These are the facts disclosed in a report which has just been released by the Secretary of Labor.

The tremendous gain of 29,265 workers and the lump total salary sum of $40,199,199, caused by the increase from 22,540 workers and $12,456,760 in yearly salaries in 1910, to 51,805 workers and $52,655,959 in 1923, is no more remarkable than the salary total of $64,483,133 for the fiscal year 1928, a gain of $11,827,174 over that of 1923, a year which represented the close of an era in the rapid recovery of prosperity from the economic ravages of the World War. The personnel totals of 51,805 for 1923 and 51,882 for 1928, while varying but little, following the return to normalcy after reductions of war-time personnels, clearly show, when considered in connection with the monetary gain in annual salaries of the army of Negro civil-service employees, that this efficient group of governmental workers made a large per capita gain in income as well as a significant gain in numbers and occupations.

NEGROES IN UNITED STATES SERVICE AT CLOSE OF FISCAL YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1928.

Where employed	Number	Total salaries	Average salary
Total—All Employees	51,882	$64,483,133	1,243
Alien Property Custodian	16	19,120	1,195
American Battle Monuments Commission	1	1,200	984
Capitol	187	184,040	900
Chief Coordinator	1	900	900
Claims Commissions (U. S. and Mexico)	2	2,200	1,100
Congressional Library	69	65,678	951
Department of Agriculture	1,086	907,068	835
Department of Commerce	686	675,629	985
Department of Interior	459	473,940	1,032
Department of Justice	68	104,720	1,540
Department of Labor	92	118,702	1,290
Department of Navy	5,427	6,637,278	1,205
Department of State	76	81,360	1,070
Department of Treasury	5,407	6,024,499	1,114
Department of War	5,914	5,149,488	871
District of Columbia government	3,674	5,141,807	1,400
Federal Board for Vocational Education	11	12,360	1,122
Federal Reserve Board	22	24,232	1,110
Federal Trade Commission	7	6,960	994
General Accounting Office—Treasury	143	183,380	1,282
Government Printing Office	934	1,344,524	1,439
Inland Waterways Corporation	3	2,520	840
International Boundary Commission	1	900	900
Interstate Commerce Commission	15	16,860	1,124
National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics	17	7,389	435
Mixed Claims Commission	2	2,400	1,200
National Military Home	181	81,151	451
Panama Canal Office	23	23,787	1,034
Pan American Sanitary Bureau	1	1,470	1,470
Personnel Classification Board	2	2,220	1,110
Post Office Department	25,390	35,127,433	1,384
Public Buildings and Parks	1,189	1,149,865	967
Smithsonian Institution	161	120,318	747
United States Board of Tax Appeals	9	11,390	1,266
United States Botanic Garden	7	7,500	1,071
United States Bureau of Efficiency	3	3,540	1,180
United States Civil Service Commission	12	14,580	1,215
United States Employees' Compensation Com.	2	2,760	1,380
United States Railroad Administration	1	1,020	1,020
United States Shipping Board	7	7,560	1,080
United States Shipping Board—M. F. C.	34	34,980	1,029
United States Soldiers' Home	27	18,480	684
United States Tariff Commission	7	8,460	1,209
United States Veterans' Bureau	495	762,805	1,541
War Finance Corporation	1	1,260	1,260
White House, the	10	12,900	1,290

FISHER NAMED THIRD DEPUTY U. S. MARSHAL

Another High Position Awarded Group

Washington, D. C., Aug. 2. — Three Race men are now sending as deputy United States marshals in the District of Columbia. They are Herbert C. Akers, Milton Lee and Timothy Windsor Fisher. Akers and Fisher are process servers. Lee is in charge of federal prisoners at the police court.

Fisher was appointed last Thursday by United States Marshal Edgar C. Snyder. He was strongly recommended by Franklin W. Fort, the secretary of the Republican national committee. Fisher attended the public schools of Newport News, Va., high school at Hampton institute, college at Temple university, Philadelphia, Pa., and graduated from the law school of Howard university in 1923. He was admitted to the bar here but went to Indiana to practice and later returned here.

In making the appointment, Marshal Snyder expressed an interest in the Race. "I have been interested in the Colored people," he said, "in their advancement, and in all my years of service in Washington, both as a newspaper man and an officer of the government, I have made a great many speeches to them, both in campaigns and otherwise, and have taken a very friendly interest in the work and development.

"I thought the thing to do under the circumstances was to give them a little bit larger representation than they have had under other United States marshals."

Fisher will help Akers, who has a very large territory. Mr. Snyder believes that he will make a very good deputy because of his law training. Out of a total force of 85 in the marshal's office, 17 are of the Race, serving as laborers, elevator operators, watchmen and deputies.

G. O. P.'S RENAME HAWKINS

Hoover Campaign Committee Will Function As Branch Of National Republican Committee.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 19.—(C. N. S.)—The colored voters' division of the Republican national committee, headed by Dr. John R. Hawkins, president of the Prudential Bank of this city, with Dr. Emmett J. Scott, secretary treasurer of Howard University, as vice chairman, has been made a permanent addition to the main body, upon recommendation of Postmaster General Walter F. Brown, according to an announcement made here Tuesday afternoon, following the initial press conference of Mr. Claudius Huston, newly elected chairman of the national committee.

Dr. Hawkins will have charge of activities among the colored voters. He will be supplied with a budget which will make possible the efficient functioning of a definite program to maintain the organization which was perfected during the last campaign. The division, under the leadership of Dr. Hawkins and Dr. Scott, will make every effort to pile up a record vote in the senatorial and congressional campaigns of 1930.

Political-1928.

D.C.

Office Holding.

J. A. Jackson Lands U. S. Position

Assistant Business Specialist in the Department of Commerce

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 12.—(A. N. P.)—James A. (Billboard) Jackson has arrived in Washington to assume the duties of assistant business specialist in the Department of Commerce. Passing a difficult Civil Service examination with a creditable record, Mr. Jackson, who some years ago was an attache of the U. S. Railway Administration Board, has secured, it is said, one of the most outstanding positions won in Uncle Sam's service by a member of the group during recent years, insofar as the classified service is concerned.

His duties are to be in connection with a new service inaugurated by the domestic commerce division of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce for the assistance of the smaller business units of the country. To the end that colored business men and women of the country may be assured of an understanding and sympathetic handling of their problems and inquiries, Mr. Jackson will be an instrument for conveying this service to those who desire to avail themselves of the benefits possible. Negro business men of the country who have been informed by letter and at the recent Durham conference of Mr. Jackson's new work have been enthusiastic in expressing their appreciation of the possibilities in helping Negro business which this new department will be.

Mr. Jackson, who is married, has established his residence at 1715 U street northwest. He is one of the most widely known journalists and fraternity men in the group. For several years he was a member of the Billboard editorial forces, as well as a staff editor for the Associated Negro Press.

COOLIDGE URGES RAISE OF $5,000 IN SALARY OF MINISTER TO LIBERIA

WASHINGTON, D. C., Mar. 15.—President Coolidge last Wednesday in a message to the Senate transmitting a report by the Secretary of State urged the Congress to enact legislation authorizing an increase in the salary of the minister resident and consul general to Liberia from $5,000 to $10,000 a year.

The President stated that he is "in full accord with the reasons advanced by the Secretary of State why the increase should be allowed.

In his report bringing to the President's attention the matter of salary of the minister resident and consul general to Liberia, Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg stated:

"The salary of $5,000 now apportioned for this office is inadequate and is disproportionate to the salaries paid to the classified Foreign Service officers of the United States.

"The incumbent of this office is required to perform both diplomatic and consular functions, and for this dual service he receives a salary of only $5,000 per annum, which is $5,000 less than is paid to any other minister of the United States, $4,000 less than is paid to Foreign Service officers of Class 1, $3,000 less than is paid to Foreign Service officers of Class II, $2,000 less than is paid to Foreign Service officers of Class III, $1,000 less than is paid to Foreign Service officers of Class IV, and is equal only to the salaries paid to Foreign Service officers of Class V which comprises no consul general and no diplomatic officer of higher grade than that of secondary secretary.

"That a minister accredited to a foreign government should receive a salary no larger than that received by a secondary secretary is an anomaly in the Foreign Service of the United States which, in view of the undersigned, should, in fairness to the minister and for the sake of uniformity in the Foreign Service, be corrected.

"Moreover, the compensation of the minister resident and consul general to Liberia is less than that received by any other foreign representative in Monrovia, none of whom has a higher grade than charge d' affaires, as those who do not have salaries equal to that of the American representative have the benefit of allotments and prerequisites."

The message from the President was read in the Senate and referred to the foreign relations committee.

CLIFFORD APPOINTED CUSTOMS INSPECTOR

Former H. U. Track Star Gets $5,000 Post In New York Office

IS PROMOTION

Appointee Was Federal Narcotic Agent

WASHINGTON, D. C. — J. Williams Clifford has been appointed a United States inspector of customs at New York City. He resigned his position as a Federal narcotic agent in order to accept this new appointment. His salary will be $5,000 a year.

This new position came to him as a recognition of his ability. He made a fine record in the Government departmental service, the United States Army and as a narcotic agent.

The late Senator Frank B. Willis, and Senator Simeon D. Fess, Republican, of Ohio, and Charles D. Hilles, of New York City, vice chairman of the Republican National Committee, supported him for the place.

For the past nine years, "Jay" as he is familiarly known, has been in the Government service. He began as a clerk and served as vault custodian in the office of the Register of the Treasury, correspondence clerk in the Treasury Department, insurance expert and special representative of colored discharged soldiers and sailors in the Veterans' Bureau and as Federal narcotic investigator. He was regarded as one of the best undercover men handling narcotic cases.

Mr. Clifford is a graduate of Howard University. While in school he was a track star, holding the half-mile and two-mile records. Leaving college he engaged in secretarial work. He was one of the volunteers who went to the officer's training school at Fort De Moines, Iowa. He was commissioned a first lieutenant of infantry. He distinguished himself in France, being the first officer of his outfit to capture a German machine gun.

His native home is in Cleveland, Ohio. His father, William H. Clifford, served two terms in the Ohio state legislature. His mother, Mrs. Carrie Clifford, is nationally known, being interested in literature. His only brother, Maurice, is a teacher in the Armstrong Technical High School.

Jay has been living here for the past 15 years. His wife was formerly Miss Rhetta Wilson, of Charleston, S. C. She is a teacher in the public schools of the District and is prominent in society here and in New York City. They have one daughter, Jeane, 4 years old.

Mr. Clifford's work will keep him permanently in New York City.

— J. Williams Clifford —

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 7.—J. Williams Clifford, a graduate of Howard University, has been appointed a United States inspector of customs at New York City. He resigned his position as a Federal narcotic agent in order to accept this new appointment. His salary will be $5,000 a year.

The late Senator Frank B. Willis and Senator Simeon D. Fess, Republican of Ohio, and Charles D. Hilles of New York City, vice-chairman of the Republican National Committee supported him for the place.

Clifford's native home is in Cleveland, O. His father, William H. Clifford, served two terms in the Ohio State Legislature.

Asheville, N. C., Citizen
Monday, May 7, 1928

SOUTHERN SOLONS SEE REVIVAL OF NEGRO POLITICS

Depriest's Rise Should Stop New Party Plans, Overman Says

(By Leased Wire)

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 6.—Southern Congressmen are manifesting interest in the news from Chicago that Oscar DePriest, a negro political leader, is to succeed Martin B. Madden. This is not an accident. Mr. Madden had a battle with ambitious negroes of his district for years. The migration from the South swelled the voting population of the district. Philadelphia, New York, and Detroit threaten to send negro congressmen. The last negro Congressman was George H. White, of North Carolina. He was elected in 1896. Another negro, Henry P. Cheatham, defeated Senator Simmons, then a representative, in 1892.

"It looks to me as if we were just at the beginning of a real negro issue," said Senator Overman. "The negro population in Northern and Western states has increased tremendously within the last 10 years, and colored voters hold the balance of power between factions or parties in a number of states. The situation is interesting, and will bring about changes. I look for more anti-lynching bills, and other such measures aimed at the South."

"The fight that we thought was over years ago has been revived in the North, East and West, and one cannot predict what the end will be. This is no time for third party talk in the South."

NEW YORK WORLD
MAY 6 1928

THE POLITICAL UNDERTOW

By Charles Michelson

WASHINGTON, May 5.—The prospect of a Negro filling the vacancy in Congress caused by the death of Martin Madden of Chicago is agitating that body, which has not numbered one of that race among its members for twenty-seven years. It is not only the race feeling, active among the Southern members, that is causing the commotion, but the political complications involved. Oscar De Priest, boss of the 2d Ward, which is the heart of Chicago's black belt, will probably serve in the present Congress for the unexpired term. A special election is expected in June. Then he will be the regular candidate in November for the regular term. As the 1st Congressional District of Illinois is solidly Republican and 80 per cent. colored, his election is assured.

There are districts almost as dark in Harlem, in Indiana, in Massachusetts and in Ohio, and the race consciousness that will be encouraged by the advent of De Priest is calculated to start these communities to emulation. Wherefore the Southern politicians are gayly prophesying that the North is in for a dose of the Negro question that has been a Dixie problem up to now.

With a black man defeating Senator Fess, the G. O. P. keynoter, for delegate to the Kansas City Convention; the special rooms for Negro enumerators and clerks in the Census Bureau wiped out by Secretary Hoover's order and these employees scattered among the white men and women doing similar work, and a conspicuous member of the race sitting in Congress, lolling in the cloakrooms, serving on committees, attending the White House Congressional receptions and getting his share of patronage, the Negro element is bound to make itself increasingly felt politically.

There can be no Jim Crow system in Congress. The new member will have his table in the House restaurant, his office and his secretary; he can command the services of the committee clerks, archivists, librarians and pages, and will partake of the immunity conferred by a Congressional tag on his automobile.

Nor is it at all probable that the new member will forego any of his privileges. He is a hard boiled politician, quite sensible of the power conferred by the district he controls. He has long been a henchman of William Hale Thompson's, has served various terms as Alderman and has had his share of political battles and scandals in the bootlegging metropolis. He has faced uprisings among his own people and has invariably put them down with an iron hand. Incidentally he is a lawyer, and they say a good one.

But it is the political and not the Congressional future that is causing most concern. Watson in Indiana, for example, can hardly turn down his big colored constituency when it demands representation. Fortunately he does not have to meet this question before next Tuesday, when it will be demonstrated whether Hoover can take the State away from him. So far there are no indications that this will be done, but the trend is now toward Hoover in the Hoosier State. Ohio, on one side of it, smashed the machine; Illinois, on the other, cast down Len Small and William Hale Thompson. The argument is that Indiana has the same sort of people and a more unsavory mess of scandals than either of its neighbors, and that it is likely to clean house in the same way. Against this is the circumstance that Watson is a bigger man than the deposed Illinoisans and has a better grip on his State than the Ohio bosses. The chances always favor the organization, so Watson will probably get the Indiana delegation, but Hoover is going strong enough to make the machine put forward its greatest efforts.

The Southern view is that ultimately the question will make not only Indiana but Ohio and Illinois Democratic States. They border on the South, and the nether sections share the prejudices of their neighbors. In the coming campaign, assuming that Hoover is nominated by the Republicans, his relieving his Negro subordinates of segregation ought to help rather than harm him in those States. If any of them go for Al Smith this time it will be for other reasons: a revulsion against the Volstead act that will bring the wet Republicans over, and the same resentment at recurring scandals that caused the overturn in the Republican primaries of Ohio and Illinois, with the farm hostility to Hoover helping.

It is in the border States that the Negro question seems most likely to damage Hoover's chances—Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri and Oklahoma. Moreover, it has enhanced the prospects of Al Smith in the Far South, for it gives the leaders, Senators and so on, the excuse they have been hoping for to support him; for they can say, indeed are saying, though not loudly as yet, that though they abhor Tammany and wetness, these are preferable to a candidate who puts the black on an equality with the white.

True, Smith has a touch of the problem in his own State; but New York does not abut on Dixie land, and Schoharie County is not going to worry much about a possible colored Congressman from Harlem two years hence. Besides, it is Representative La Guardia who must do the fretting there; the hypothetical gloom of a Republican Congressman will cost a Democratic candidate for President few pangs.

Heflin of Alabama held Gov. Smith responsible for the commingling of the races in black and tan dance halls in New York City, and Blease of South Carolina gravely told the Senate that both Smith and Hoover meant to have a colored member of the Cabinet, if either was elected. It is by such utterances that these two broad-browed statesmen stand out among the Southern delegations in Congress.

Incidentally, while Smith practically has the nomination already, Hoover is still very much in doubt. The shadow of Coolidge still darkens. With only a month before the convention meets the President has not spoken the words that would eliminate him as a possible candidate. The Hoover crowd was much heartened the other day when word came to them that Chairman Butler of the National Committee was to announce himself for the Secretary of Commerce on Monday. Instead, he told somebody who approached him with the argument that the preference vote of Massachusetts should be binding on the delegates, that his position as Chairman of the national body precluded his appearing as a partisan for any candidate, and this was transmogrified into a hint that it was only because he was National Chairman that he did not get aboard the Hoover bandwagon.

Political 1928

Florida

Office Holding

Tampa, Fla., Tribune
Monday, July 9, 1928

NEGROES IN OFFICE

HAINES CITY.—To E. J. W. of Clearwater: The government in all its departments employs negroes, whether a Democratic administration or a Republican one. The national rules for employment make no distinction between the white or black race. These rules are not changed according to the Democratic or Republican nature of the administrations.

The heads of a department must follow established rules and customs. You cannot fire up negro hatred against Hoover simply because he had some in his Department.

My dear E. J. W. there is a question now before the people, if approved, will be far more a curse to the country than the negro. O. W. F.

Political - 1928

General.

Office Holding.

TRANSCRIPT
BOSTON, MASS.

JUL 31 1928

Races in the Departments

Secretary Mellon has denied that any widespread system of race segregation exists in the thirty-odd bureaus of the Treasury Department. Neval H. Thomas, president of the Washington branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, issues a statement declaring, although without specifications, as far as we have seen, that segregation is "rampant" in the Treasury Department. In all the years during which colored men and women have been employed in the Government departments, we do not recall that conditions have existed, as between the races, of which either negroes or whites have complained—or, at least, this was true until the advent of John Skelton Williams of Virginia, comptroller of the currency and later assistant secretary in the Wilson administration. Wholly as a result of his own prejudices, as nearly as could be learned at this time, Mr. Williams issued a drastic order cutting off even the most cursory association between the two races; an act which caused as much surprise to one group as the other.

To the credit of both races, it may be said that they have got along very well in their official relations in the Government departments. We doubt if the Republican Administration has treated the colored employees unjustly, and we fail to see any political or racial profit in stirring up an issue which, if left alone, will take care of itself.

SENTINEL
FITCHBURG, MASS

JUN 30 1928

NEGROES IN CONGRESS

[Rochester Democrat and Chronicle]

Nomination of a negro for Representative in Congress from a Chicago district to succeed the late Martin B. Madden is interesting chiefly because if he is elected, he will be the first member of his race to sit in either house of Congress for 27 years. Election of negroes to Congress is by no means unprecedented.

Historical researches show that in all 23 negroes have been elected to Congress, 21 of them to the House. They were most numerous, of course, in the years immediately following the Civil war. Every one of the states of the old South, except Texas, was represented at one time or another by a negro in one house; Mississippi was represented in both houses.

The two men of negro descent who occupied seats in the Senate were Hiram R. Revells and Blanche Kelso Bruce, both prominent members of their race in their day. Revells was born in North Carolina in 1828, educated at Knox college in Illinois and became a Methodist preacher, and ministered to his own people in various parts of the North. He assisted in recruiting colored regiments during the Civil war and went to the front as a chaplain. He later settled at Natchez, Miss., and had been a municipal officer of that town and a state legislator when elected a Federal Senator in 1870.

Bruce was born a slave in Virginia in 1841, was educated with the son of his master and studied at Oberlin college. He settled in Mississippi after the war and in 1875 became a colleague of Revells in the Senate being then only 34 years old and making a decided impression. He passed the final years of his life at the head of a clerical bureau in a Washington department.

The migration of large numbers of negroes to Northern cities since the World war has created conditions in several congressional districts which make it easily possible for them to secure the necessary political support to carry members of their own race into Congress.

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Office Holding

U. S. POSTAL HEADS ASK POSTMASTERS FOR DATA ON JOBS

Senatorial Probe Committee Desires Specific Information To Assist in Quiz.

Washington, July 20.—(AP)—Postmasters in Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina and Tennessee have been directed by Postmaster General New to inform the senate committee investigating alleged traffic in postal appointments concerning all circumstances in connection with any contributions made by them to political organizations.

Explaining a form letter sent to the postmasters, Mr. New said such action was requested by the senate committee. "The letter speaks for itself," he added.

The information is directed to be given in the form of affidavits to cover the following points:

"Any money or contributions to any person, party or organization for political purposes, both before and since your appointment as postmaster.

"Statement of the date and method of payment and the reasons for such payment.

"Name of the party to whom payment was made; his position in the political committee, if any, and the exact facts and circumstances of his demand.

"Whether payments have been made monthly or at intervals, and the amount of each payment.

"If any payments have been made to committees or representatives of any political party during this or any previous administration, state the facts."

Mr. New's letter noted that the committee could summon postmasters to testify concerning the questions asked by him and said the only purpose of requesting affidavits on the matters involved was "to save expense and the annoyance of travel, as well as to save time." The affidavits are to be forwarded to Mr. New, who will deliver them to the committee.

Calling attention to a committee statement which denied that the investigation was designed to "cause the removal of postmasters who have contributed money to secure their appointments," Mr. New added, as postmaster general, "that it is to be definitely understood that no system of levy, sale or contribution that reflects discredit upon this department shall be permitted to be practiced if it is within its power to prevent it, and, in order that it may be fully advised, you are requested to give us a complete and frank statement as to any facts that may be useful to the department in bringing about the end desired."

AMOUNT OF G. O. P. DONATIONS SOUGHT.

Letters to every Georgia postmaster, requesting a statement in affidavit form to the amount of money paid the republican party in Georgia before and since appointment, have been mailed by Postmaster General Harry S. New, it was learned Friday from Edwin K. Large, postmaster here.

The letters request postmasters to list all contributions either to persons or party; to state whether the payments have been monthly, or otherwise, and reasons for the contributions. The letters point out that this is to include all donations or payments to the present or any other republican state administration.

Postmaster General New's action, it is understood, comes as a result of a conference with the senate investigatorial subcommittee which convened here three days recently investigating charges of republican patronage in Georgia.

General.

FEDERAL PATRONAGE INQUIRY

The senatorial investigation of the alleged sale of federal offices in the states of Georgia and Mississippi, now under way, has all the earmarks of designing and well-planned politics; and, if this inquiry is not carried into other states of the South, where the same practice is reported to be the vogue, it will appear as if this investigation is directed more at the party leaders in these two states than at the practice itself.

It must be borne in mind that Georgia and Mississippi are the only two states in the country which have had colored Republican national committeemen and committeewomen during the last eight years, and repeated efforts have been made to discredit and dethrone these partisan leaders of color.

Far be from The Informer to charge conspiracy or frame-up, but if the federal patronage practices and sale of federal offices in other Dixie states are not investigated by this special senatorial committee, then this paper is perfectly willing to let the reader pass his own judgment upon the matter.

Our national solons can cut some peculiar capers and stage some very funny stunts, yet it is very noticeable and obvious that they never attempt to investigate some of the real, rotten conditions obtaining in the South, involving the constitutional rights of American citizens.

Why single out Georgia and Mississippi for such an investigation and expose, when this practice is generally followed in all American states, and especially in the South?

If this senatorial investigating committee wants to get at the bottom of this practice, and is anxious to know the whole truth regarding the sale of federal offices, suppose they summon some of the national leaders of the Republican party, who, it is currently rumored, made certain concessions to state party leaders to help take care of the 1920 deficit.

The sale of and trafficking in federal offices is no new thing in the United States, for both major political parties have been accused of such practices; and, while The Informer does not attempt to sit in judgment upon the men investigated in Georgia and indicted in Mississippi, this paper only desires to see fairness done in the premises, and is opposed to any inquiry or expose which seeks to make the Negro leaders of the party in these Southern states the scapegoat.

While investigating the sale of federal offices in these two Dixie commonwealths, why doesn't the senate also investigate other practices in the South far more reprehensible and repugnant than the alleged sale of federal positions?

Peonage, disfranchisement, proscription, lynching, injustices and inequalities of every conceivable and inconceivable type are as apparent in the South as the nose on one's face, yet the senate winks at and passively condones such practices with a moral cowardice and political indifference that ill become such a supposed fair-minded and august body.

As these lines are being written, newspaper dispatches state that Hon. Perry W. Howard, Republican national committeeman from Mississippi and assistant attorney-general of the United States, is one of the colored Republican leaders indicted by a federal grand jury in the Mudcat State for the alleged sale and barter of federal offices, and that he has been relieved of his portfolio by the attorney-general of the United States.

If this practice has been and is being pursued in Georgia and Mississippi, is it not also reasonable to suspect that other Southern states are not immune and free from such practices?

The Informer does not approve of nor condone the sale of federal offices, but if the senate and party leaders break up this practice in Dixie, many of the vest-pocket Republican organizations in Southern states will pass into political oblivion and suspended animation of a partisan nature.

Political - 1928

Office Holding

U. S. POSTAL HEADS ASK POSTMASTERS FOR DATA ON JOBS

Senatorial Probe Committee Desires Specific Information To Assist in Quiz.

Washington, July 20.—(AP)—Postmasters in Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina and Tennessee have been directed by Postmaster General New to inform the senate committee investigating alleged traffic in postal appointments concerning all circumstances in connection with any contributions made by them to political organizations.

Explaining a form letter sent to the postmasters, Mr. New said such action was requested by the senate committee. "The letter speaks for itself," he added.

The information is directed to be given in the form of affidavits to cover the following points:

"Any money or contributions to any person, party or organization for political purposes, both before and since your appointment as postmaster.

"Statement of the date and method of payment and the reasons for such payment.

"Name of the party to whom payment was made; his position in the political committee, if any, and the exact facts and circumstances of his demand.

"Whether payments have been made monthly or at intervals, and the amount of each payment.

"If any payments have been made to committees or representatives of any political party during this or any previous administration, state the facts."

Mr. New's letter noted that the committee could summon postmasters to testify concerning the questions asked by him and said the only purpose of requesting affidavits on the matters involved was "to save expense and the annoyance of travel, as well as to save time." The affidavits are to be forwarded to Mr. New, who will deliver them to the committee.

Calling attention to a committee statement which denied that the investigation was designed to "cause the removal of postmasters who have contributed money to secure their appointments," Mr. New added, as postmaster general, "that it is to be definitely understood that no system of levy, sale or contribution that reflects discredit upon this department shall be permitted to be practiced if it is within its power to prevent it, and, in order that it may be fully advised, you are requested to give us a complete and frank statement as to any facts that may be useful to the department in bringing about the end desired."

AMOUNT OF G. O. P. DONATIONS SOUGHT.

Letters to every Georgia postmaster, requesting a statement in affidavit form to the amount of money paid the republican party in Georgia before and since appointment, have been mailed by Postmaster General Harry S. New, it was learned Friday from Edwin K. Large, postmaster here.

The letters request postmasters to list all contributions either to persons or party; to state whether the payments have been monthly, or otherwise, and reasons for the contributions. The letters point out that this is to include all donations or payments to the present or any other republican state administration.

Postmaster General New's action, it is understood, comes as a result of a conference with the senate investigatorial subcommittee which convened here three days recently investigating charges of republican patronage in Georgia.

General.

FEDERAL PATRONAGE INQUIRY

The senatorial investigation of the alleged sale of federal offices in the states of Georgia and Mississippi, now under way, has all the earmarks of designing and well-planned politics; and, if this inquiry is not carried into other states of the South, where the same practice is reported to be the vogue, it will appear as if this investigation is directed more at the party leaders in these two states than at the practice itself.

It must be borne in mind that Georgia and Mississippi are the only two states in the country which have had colored Republican national committeemen and committeewomen during the last eight years, and repeated efforts have been made to discredit and dethrone these partisan leaders of color.

Far be from The Informer to charge conspiracy or frame-up, but if the federal patronage practices and sale of federal offices in other Dixie states are not investigated by this special senatorial committee, then this paper is perfectly willing to let the reader pass his own judgment upon the matter.

Our national solons can cut some peculiar capers and stage some very funny stunts, yet it is very noticeable and obvious that they never attempt to investigate some of the real, rotten conditions obtaining in the South, involving the constitutional rights of American citizens.

Why single out Georgia and Mississippi for such an investigation and expose, when this practice is generally followed in all American states, and especially in the South?

If this senatorial investigating committee wants to get at the bottom of this practice, and is anxious to know the whole truth regarding the sale of federal offices, suppose they summon some of the national leaders of the Republican party, who, it is currently rumored, made certain concessions to state party leaders to help take care of the 1920 deficit.

The sale of and trafficking in federal offices is no new thing in the United States, for both major political parties have been accused of such practices; and, while The Informer does not attempt to sit in judgment upon the men investigated in Georgia and indicted in Mississippi, this paper only desires to see fairness done in the premises, and is opposed to any inquiry or expose which seeks to make the Negro leaders of the party in these Southern states the scapegoat.

While investigating the sale of federal offices in these two Dixie commonwealths, why doesn't the senate also investigate other practices in the South far more reprehensible and repugnant than the alleged sale of federal positions?

Peonage, disfranchisement, proscription, lynching, injustices and inequalities of every conceivable and inconceivable type are as apparent in the South as the nose on one's face, yet the senate winks at and passively condones such practices with a moral cowardice and political indifference that ill become such a supposed fair-minded and august body.

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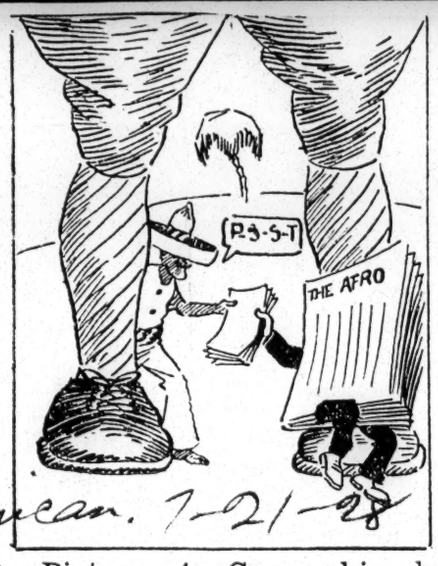
The Informer does not approve of nor condone the sale of federal offices, but if the senate and party leaders break up this practice in Dixie, many of the vest-pocket Republican organizations in Southern states will pass into political oblivion and suspended animation of a partisan nature.

Picture 1. First Baptist Church, Winston-Salem, N. C., fired the Rev. Junius Thomas, pastor, who admitted making a love nest out of his automobile.

Picture 2. Skipping the oil and election fraud perpetrated by the big fellows, Uncle Sam started out last week to get Perry Howard and Ben Davis.

Picture 3. Hoover ran ahead of Smith when a straw ballot was taken by means of a voting machine at the AFRO building Saturday.



Picture 4. Censorship by United States marines in Haiti failed to prevent patriotic natives from getting news through to the AFRO.

Picture 5. Seventy-five per cent of the dancing flappers pay their own way at Wonderland Park according to William Riley, booking agent.

LESTER WALTON IN NEW YORK WORLD SAYS FEDERAL WAGES FOR NEGROES ARE VERY LOW

By Lester A. Walton, New York World.

In 1910 there were 22,540 Negroes in the employ of the United States Government, whose annual salary aggregated $12,456,760. These figures have appreciably increased in 18 years, for in June of this year there were 51,882 Negroes on Uncle Sams' payroll, whose annual earning capacity was $64,483,133.

The last time a survey was made of the Negro personnel of the Federal Government, which was in June, 1923, there were approximately 51,805 workers earning $52,655,959 annually.

The statistical information has been made public by the United States Department of Labor.

Average Salary Is $1,243.

Included in the list of Negroes in the service of the United States are 10,867 native Panamanians, whose combined yearly salaries total $6,810,229.

The average salary of these 51,882 Government employees is $1,243 a year. The list furnished by the United States Department of Labor shows that the 187 Negroes working at the Capitol earn $184,040 annually, an average salary of $984.

Other significant figures, giving where employed and combined salaries are:

Agricultural Department, 1,086; salaries, $907,068, an average of $835.

Commerce Department, 686; salaries, $675,629, an average salary of $985.

Interior Department, 459; salaries, $473,940, an average salary of $1,032.

State Department, 76; salaries, $81,860, an average salary of $1,070.

Treasury Department, 5,407; salaries $6,024,499, an average salary of $1,114.

Post Office Department, 25,390; salaries, $35,127,433, an average salary of $1,384.

There are ten Negroes working in the White House, whose aggregate salaries amount to $12,900.

The Statistical Bureau of the Department of Labor fixes a "living wage" at approximately $1,520. On this basis the average wage paid Negroes in the Department of Commerce is $535 short of this amount.

Rentals in Washington average about $10 a room. A modest five room house, by this process of computation, would make inroads on the employees' yearly income to the extent of $600.

The information given out by the Department of Labor dealing with the gain of Negro employees in the United States Government has precipitated a controversy among members of the race in Washington.

Among those taking part in the discussions is Thomas H. R. Clarke, an old resident and committee president of the National Equal Rights League.

Appointed Under Democratic Regime.

"This release is designed to show how generous the Republican National Administration has been to the colored people of the entire nation in the matter of appointments to Federal offices," charges Mr. Clarke. "It is intended to convey the impression that the Republican Party should be given credit for this showing, all of which is entirely wrong, for the very simple reason that by far the larger proportion of these employees were appointed under the Democratic Administration of Woodrow Wilson.

"It happens to be the incontestable fact that it was during the war period when this expansion took place. Every department of the Federal Government was greatly enlarged and many new departments created. More than 125,000 new war workers came to Washington and were employed by the Democratic Administration then in power. It was at this time that the colored force of employees was more than doubled.

"The release fails to relate that while there are over 40,000 Federal employees in the City of Washington there are less than 250 colored men and women of clerical status within the nine departments of the Federal Government, exclusive of the city post office, which is local.

"Colored employees of the civil service have been appointed to positions as the result of competitive examinations before the institution of the photograph system of identification. These people won their appointments not through political favor but because they met the requirements of the Civil Service Law.

"The statement is made that in the Department of the Interior there are 473 employees of all grades and that they draw the combined salary of $473,940. This is intended to fool somebody, but it won't. Taking the combined salaries, and dividing it by the total number of race employees, we arrive at an average salary of $1,032 per colored employee—not hardly a living wage—not anything like the money earned by skilled laborers and mechanics.

No Negroes Appointed In Last Two Years.

"Since the installation of the photograph system of identification no colored clerical eligible has been appointed in the last two years, although many were on the eligible list."

The Secretary of Labor, commenting in the release on the facts disclosed in his report, points out that:

"The tremendous gain of 29,265 workers and the lump total salary sum of $40,199,199, caused by the increase from 22,540 workers and $12,456,760 in yearly salaries in 1910 to 51,805 workers and $52,655,959 in 1923, is no more remarkable than the salary total of $64,483,133 for the fiscal year 1928, a gain of $11,827,174 over that of 1923, a year which represented the close of an era in the rapid recovery of prosperity from the economic ravages of the World War.

"The personnel totals of 51,805 for 1923 and 51,882 for 1928, while varying but little, following the return to normalcy after reductions of war time personnels, clearly show, when considered in connection with the monetary gain in annual salaries of the army of Negro civil service employees, that the efficient group of governmental workers made a large per capita gain in income, as well as a significant gain in numbers and occupations."

General.

Political - 1928.

Office Holding.

Propaganda vs History

Fairminded people should be wondering by this time when the South is going to be just enough to discover and read history in its true light and relieve the Negro of the excessive blame he has to bear for the political crimes and blunders of the reconstruction period. The Negro has borne in silence, all these sixty years, the almost irreparable injury of political propaganda based upon ignorance, prejudice and malice. The amount of harm that has come to the race as a result of this thing is incalculable. We have no defense against it. The historians were bias and ignorant, and apparently without inclination or industry to go to existing records and learn the truth of what they were writing about. The same thing is true to this day. We see intelligent editors writing about how the Negroes "ruled the South," in reconstruction days. Discussing some of the bonds which North Carolina repudiated, and which that State is now being sued for, the Petersburg-Index says:

4-28-28

"The bonds in question were authorized by the reconstruction legislature of North Carolina, composed almost entirely of recently emancipated Negroes, who at that time under the laws and constitution of North Carolina and of the United States as well, were ineligible to vote or hold public office, the fifteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States enfranchising Negroes not having been ratified."

Passing over the question of eligibility, let us examine the question of numbers. That is the distortion of fact from which the Negro has suffered most. The North Carolina Manual, compiled and published by the North Carolina Historical Commission (white) 1913, pages 481-862, gives the names of all Negroes serving in the State General Assembly, and the counties from which they were elected, from 1868 to 1899. The same authority gives the number of white and Negro members for each session of the assembly in which there were Negro members, and for the benefit of those who assert that any session of the North Carolina legislature, during reconstruction was composed "almost entirely" of Negroes, we quote the exact figures:

Year	White	Negro
1868—Senators	47	3
Representatives	102	18
1870—Senators	46	4
Representatives	101	19
1872—Senators	45	5
Representatives	108	12
1874—Senators	45	4
Representatives	107	13
1876—Senators	45	5
Representatives	113	7
1879—Senators	48	2
Representatives	114	6
1881—Senators	49	1
Representatives	116	4

In the 1883 General Assembly and after, the number of Negro members was negligible and gradually declined until 1899 when it reached the vanishing point. At no time during the reconstruction period were there enough Negroes in the North Carolina legislature to wield any considerable influence upon any measure coming before the body. To the generations of white people growing up since the war there has been painted in history and in oratory pictures of Negroes over-running the legislatures of the South, holding places of high power and lording it over the war-ridden Southern people. All of which has been cruel and malignant exaggeration.

From biographies and historical writings of Negroes who were prominent in politics or who held office during reconstruction we learn that the newly emancipated Negroes sought first to join their political fortunes with those of their former masters and friends, but that their approaches and intentions were hotly spurned. Then the "carpet bagger" entered, who with the Southern renegade combined to mislead the newly enfranchised Negro voters. To saddle the Negroes themselves with the burden of bad laws enacted by legislatures that were four-fifths white is grossly unjust.

STAR

Portsmouth Va.

MAY 5 1928

PROPAGANDA VS. HISTORY

(From Norfolk Journal and Guide, Colored.)

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WHITE SUPREMACY.

In the pending national campaign the question of white supremacy is paramount, and supercedes every controversial issue.

It strikes at the very hearthstone of every white man's home in the south. Constitution

In Georgia the problem is peculiarly acute. Within the past few days, in the disgraceful disclosures as to juggling federal patronage by a negro referee, this burning question, on which hinges the hope of the south, as it hinged in the dark days of reconstruction, has been accentuated. 7-15-28

In Mississippi, where a negro patronage referee has, as alleged, auctioned postmasterships and other federal jobs, the conditions are so "astonishing," as expressed by members of the senate investigating committee, that a grand jury, rather than a congressional group, has undertaken the investigations. Thus it is all over the south.

And what is to be expected should Secretary Hoover be elected to the presidency? Atlanta, Ga.

He is entitled to his racial ideas. It is not charged that he is influenced in them by political expediency. They were made plain during the world war, when, as food administrator, he brought the blacks and whites together, in his numerous division headquarters and office rooms in Washington—men and women of every shade and color—to work side by side, feed from the same tables, and use the same rest

rooms.

It was only after the segregation order of President Wilson that such a condition was remedied. That order remained in effect, in all governmental departments, and with entire satisfaction, the white and black employees being properly separated, until a few months ago when upon the initiative of negro politicians of Boston, Philadelphia, and elsewhere, Secretary Hoover abrogated the order as to the department of commerce, and all its branches, and today the same conditions exist as prior to the Wilson segregation order ten years ago. Today the white and black employees, men and women, in all branches of that department, work side by side, use the same rest rooms, and in no respect is there any racial segregation.

There is no purpose to reflect upon the character, or the statesmanship or the business ability of the republican candidate for president. He has never lived in the south. He has visited it only a few times. He has only stopped in Georgia for a brief period, and in waiting for his schedule in Savannah the fact that he received as his guest on his private car the negro national committeewoman may have had more political than racial significance. At that time his candidacy for the nomination was brewing.

He lived the most of his adult life in London and in other European capitals. There social and racial conditions are different.

But that does not alter, nor extenuate the situation in this country.

While the racial question is inbred, it is sacred, it is crucial.

The negro is equal to the white before the law, and the administration of the law in this, and in other states in the "old black belt" gives to him freely and correctly that equality.

He is encouraged to become useful in citizenship, in the trades, in industry, in agriculture.

He is educated through the public school system on a parity with the whites, and the expenses are paid by taxation which accrues largely from the whites.

Every upstanding citizen believes in justice, full and complete, to the negro.

But that does not mean a relinquishment of white supremacy, for which the best blood of the south was shed to maintain, and which the upstanding thought of Americans, in every state, recognizes to be right.

It does not mean social equality, or negro political domination, as the latter is today in the juggling of federal jobs in Georgia and other states. Will this negro political domination not expand and be made more intolerable if Secretary Hoover becomes the nation's executive?

Former Governor Brough, of Arkansas, speaking before the Press association of his state made this plain when he said the real issue in this national campaign is "Anglo-Saxon supremacy."

Elsewhere in The Constitution today is a communication from Wright Willingham, prominent attorney of Rome, Ga., in which he makes the issue plain.

A negro of Rome is a dispenser of federal patronage, and with Bre'r Davis, of Georgia-at-large, and Bre'r Howard, of Mississippi-at-large, and others, hold the republican throttle in the south.

It is time to think seriously of this question. Mr. Hoover is entitled to his views. Democratic malcontents and insurrectionists who want to join him, and the negro republican dictators in the south, may find comfort in such company. But white supremacy is the hope of the south. For it we fight!

Rock Hill, S. C. Herald
Thursday, July 12, 1928

POSTOFFICE GRAFT WORST OF ALL IN SO. CAROLINA, SAYS

Hoover Crowd Will Have Little Consideration For Leaders In State

Washington, July 12.—Republican leaders here are manifesting interest in the investigation of alleged sales of postoffice jobs in the south. They want to clear house in South Carolina, Georgia Mississippi and one or two other states. Negro leaders charge that they are quietly but effectively eliminating the colored politician.

It looks as if they were going to put somebody in jail. The appointment of Senator Brookhart a schairman of that subcommittee, was a clever move to make some real discoveries in the so-called barter states. Old man Joe Tolbert and his crew were for Lowden at Kansas City. The Hoover people care but little what happens to them.

The Brookhart committee, now at Atlanta, will return here from Atlanta to hear Postmaster General New and members of the house of representatives.

In the meantime Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt, assistant attorney general, is conducting an investigation in Mississippi, with a view to asking for indictments against republican leaders there, who are charged with bartering federal jobs.

Senator Brookhart on leaving here said he would probe to the bottom of the reports on office trafficking. His friends think he has made a good start in Georgia, and will be able to get valuable testimony there.

Conditions in South Carolina and Mississippi are said to be worse than those in Georgia.

Dominating republican leaders in the five so-called barter states are: Joe W. Tolbert, white national committeeman, of South Carolina; Benjamin Jefferson Davis, negro, formerly national committeeman from Georgia; Perry W. Howard, negro, national committeeman of Mississippi; Representative J. Will Taylor, white, national committeeman of Tennessee, and Robert R. Church, negro, of Tennessee, and R. B. Creager, national committeeman of Texas.

During the recent republican convention at Kansas City, Mrs. Willebrandt, who was chairman on the committee on credentials, denounced southern party leaders. She referred to conditions growing out of patronage deals, and announced her purpose to investigate reports that had come to her office.

Representative W. F. Stevenson, of South Carolina, wants to testify before the Brookhart committee. He has documentary evidence in cases where money has been paid to party managers for jobs. He is ready to show that village mail carrier jobs at Clover, his state, can be secured for pay, the price being $300.

Senator Brookhart will ask John T. Doyle, secretary of the civil service commission, to tell his committee what he knows about the Clover case.

Political- 1928

General

Office Holding.

51,882 Negroes Uncle Sam's Payroll

Civil Service Jobs Bring Race Employees

SALARIES OF $64,483,133

Average Yearly Salaries Amount to $1052

Washington, Sept 10—From 22,540 employees in 1910, whose total salaries aggregated $12,456,760, to 51,882, on June 30, 1923, whose yearly share of pay from the United States Treasury totals $46,483,133, is the story of the Negro workers who are at this time being carried on Uncle Sam's pay roll, as efficient and well paid servants of the public trust of governmental service. During the interim, at the close of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1923, the Negro civil service personnel of the Federal Government was surveyed and found to number approximately 51,805 workers, with a total annual earning capacity of $52,655,959.

These are the facts disclosed in a report which has just been released by the Secretary of Labor.

The tremendous gain of 29,265 workers and the lump total salary sum of $40,199,199, caused by the increase from 22,540 workers and $12,456,760 in yearly salaries in 1910, to 51,805 workers and $52,655,959 in 1923 is no more remarkable than the salary total of $64,483,133 for the fiscal year 1928, a gain of $11,827,174 over that of 1923, a year which represented the close of an era in the rapid recovery of prosperity from the economic ravages of the World War. The personnel totals of 51,805 for 1923 and 51,882 for 1928, while varying but little, following the return to normalcy after reductions of war-time personnels, clearly show, when considered in connection with the monetary gain in annual salaries of the army of Negro civil-service employees, that this efficient group of governmental workers made a large capita gain in income as well as a significant gain in numbers and occupations.

Valdosta, Ga., Tuesday,
Thursday, December 27, 1928

MORE PATRONAGE

The revelations of the Republican patronage among postmasters in the South seem to be unlimited. Now comes South Carolina into the limelight. Investigation by the Senate committee in that state has brought to light conditions which rival if not surpass those uncovered in Georgia and Alabama. According to the Associated Press, evidence showing that Joseph W. Tolbert, Republican national committeeman for South Carolina, had requested contributions to party funds from postmasters in his state was presented before the committee at Washington.

Affidavits to support the charges were brought in showing how the campaign funds of Harding and Coolidge were swelled. Other affidavits came from Tennessee, Georgia and Mississippi, but those from the latter state were laid aside pending completion of the criminal trials now proceeding in that state.

Tolbert came in for criticism by Chairman Brookhart when one of the affidavits showed he had said it was necessary for him to go to Washington in connection with postmastership appointments.

Nearly all of the affidavits which were selected by the postmaster general at the request of the committee gave evidence of contributions to party funds, most of them for sums of $100, although one South Carolina postmaster, James H. McCord of Hodges, said he had paid $350 to the Republican party in four years.

Another affidavit sworn to by Randal E. Haddock, postmaster at Paris Island, S. C., said that Tolbert told him he did not approve of marines in the postal service as postmasters after Haddock had informed the committeeman that he had been discharged from the marine corps.

He had an agreement with Tolbert, Haddock said, in which he was to pay $100 if the salary of the office were increased from $2,400 to $2,500.

In another affidavit, John D. Carson, postmaster at Spartanburg, S. C., said he gave $25 to a negro county chairman in March, 1928, to pay for transportation of five delegates to the Republican state convention. Two South Carolina congressmen appeared before the committee and presented a newspaper article which said that three eligible applicants for the postmastership at Anderson, had been asked to contribute. They declared that rumors were current in their state of frequent contributions to Republican funds.

It can be easily seen that this constitutes one of the most deplorable conditions existent in the government services and should be corrected immediately. The worst thing resultant from the patronage abuses is that they render the civil service requirements practically powerless to hold check over the fair and impartial selection of competent executives. It is true that a man is still required to pass the civil service examinations under the patronage regimes, but they are not, as they should be, the primary requisite for appointment to office. Instead, a man must pay the expenses of negro politicians and what not out of his own pocket to get his job and keep the rotten business up after he is put in office in order to hold the position.

The postmasters could reveal much more than they are now doing, if they were not dominated by party bosses who demand silence and money as the price of a man's job. Thus the committee is severely hampered in its investigation of the real conditions. The postmasters are hushed up and only a few of them have seen fit to reveal the extortion to which they are subjected.

This patronage business is characteristic of the Republican party's conduct in the South. The Ben Davis affair is a good example of the manner in which the postoffice affairs are conducted in this section of the country.

What is the use of maintaining our civil service if it is to be made a farce? The time has come for such an investigation as is being conducted by the Senate committee. Postmasters should be given their jobs on merit alone and should be allowed to make a decent living without having to support a party organization in the South composed primarily of negroes.

SENATORIAL QUIZ BRINGS EVIDENCE OF G.O.P. TRIBUTE

Hager, Atlanta Federal District Attorney, Contributed to Davis Organization, Records Show.

ASSESSMENTS MADE ON OFFICE VALUE

Check Stubs Show Expenses as Salary, Phone Call and Traveling; Hundreds of Victims.

BY GLADSTONE WILLIAMS.

Washington, December 30.—Republican patronage conditions in Georgia, operated on a systematic scale, whereby postmasters made regular contributions to state republican headquarters and supplied funds for paying "salaries" to the late Henry Lincoln Johnson, negro national committeeman, and other officers of the state organization. These facts were unfolded here today by Senator Smith W. Brookhart, republican, of Iowa, in a special report on the senatorial investigation into patronage activities in southern states.

Senator Brookhart, chairman of the special investigating committee which held hearings in Atlanta during the congressional recess, made public records revealing a system of patronage which promises to have a far-reaching effect on the senate inquiry. The records consisted for the most part of copies of a card index system used in republican state headquarters in Georgia and check stubs of expenditures by that office, showing the amount of money to be "contributed" by the various postmasters and how this was spent.

"Contributions" by postmasters and other holders of patronage offices in the state under the republican organization ran from $60 to upwards of $100 a year, it was disclosed. However, none of the principal cities of the state, such as Atlanta, Macon, Augusta and Savannah, was mentoined in the records. A few of the smaller cities, like Winder, called for payments of $120, while LaGrange was listed for a "conrtibution" of $150 from Postmaster Walter L. Turner in 1926.

Former Republican National Committeeman Ben J. Davis, recently resigned, received a salary of $250 per month, while secretary of the republican state central committee under the Johnson regime, Senator Brookhart reported. A similar amount was paid John W. Martin, treasurer of ganization. One item showed a telephone bill of $73.27 for a single month. The records made public today contained a letter dated July 11, 1928, from E. H. Brinson, a disappointed office seeker, to Senators George and Harris, of Georgia, revealed also that the republican state central committee financed numerous trips to Washington by Roscoe Pick- offering what he described as "positive evidence" that the postoffice at Butler, Ga., had been "bought." He added that he had complained to Postmaster General Harry S. New and others identified with the organization. But Henry Lincoln Johnson, at the time of his death, was receiving $300 per month and a check for this amount was paid his widow for the month after he died. It was

Political- 1928

Office Holding.

General

51,882 Negroes Uncle Sam's Payroll

Civil Service Jobs Bring Race Employees

SALARIES OF $64,483,133

Average Yearly Salaries Amount to $1052

Washington, Sept 10—From 22,540 employees in 1910x whose total salaries aggregated $12,456,760, 882, on [illegible], whose yearly share of pay from the United States Treasury totals $46,48[illegible], is the story of the Negro workers who are at this time being carried on Uncle Sam's pay roll, as efficient and well paid servants of the public trust of governmental service. During the interim at the close of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1923, the Negro civil service personnel of the Federal Government was surveyed and found to number approximately 51,805 workers, with a total annual earning capacity of $52,655,959.

These are the facts disclosed in a report which has just been released by the Secretary of Labor.

The tremendous gain of 29,265 workers and the lump total salary sum of $40,199,199, caused by the increase from 22,540 workers and $12,456,760 in yearly salaries in 1910, to 51,805 workers and $52,655,959 in 1923 is no more remarkable than the salary total of $64,483,133 for the fiscal year 1928, a gain of $11,827,174 over that of 1923, a year which represented the close of an era in the rapid recovery of prosperity from the economic ravages of the World War. The personnel totals of 51,805 for 1923 and 51,882 for 1928, while varying but little, following the return to normalcy after reductions of war-time personnels, clearly show, when considered in connection with the monetary gain in annual salaries of the army of Negro civil-service employees, that this efficient group of governmental workers made a large capita gain in income as well as a significant gain in numbers and occupations.

Valdosta, Ga., Times
Thursday, December 13, 1928

MORE PATRONAGE

The revelations of the Republican patronage among postmasters in the South seem to be unlimited. Now comes South Carolina into the limelight. Investigation by the Senate committee in that state has brought to light conditions which rival if not surpass those uncovered in Georgia and Alabama. According to the Associated Press, evidence showing that Joseph W. Tolbert, Republican national committeeman for South Carolina, had requested contributions to party funds from postmasters in his state was presented before the committee at Washington.

Affidavits to support the charges were brought in showing how the campaign funds of Harding and Coolidge were swelled. Other affidavits came from Tennessee, Georgia and Mississippi, but those from the latter state were laid aside pending completion of the criminal trials now proceeding in that state.

Tolbert came in for criticism by Chairman Brookhart when one of the affidavits showed he had said it was necessary for him to go to Washington in connection with postmastership appointments.

Nearly all of the affidavits which were selected by the postmaster general at the request of the committee gave evidence of contributions to party funds, most of them for sums of $100, although one South Carolina postmaster, James H. McCord of Hodges, said he had paid $350 to the Republican party in four years.

Another affidavit sworn to by Randal E. Haddock, postmaster at Paris Island, S. C., said that Tolbert told him he did not approve of marines in the postal service as postmasters after Haddock had informed the committeeman that he had been discharged from the marine corps.

He had an agreement with Tolbert, Haddock said, in which he was to pay $100 if the salary of the office were increased from $2,400 to $2,500.

In another affidavit, John D. Carson, postmaster at Spartanburg, S. C., said he gave $25 to a negro county chairman in March, 1928, to pay for transportation of five delegates to the Republican state convention. Two South Carolina congressmen appeared before the committee and presented a newspaper article which said that three eligible applicants for the postmastership at Anderson, had been asked to contribute. They declared that rumors were current in their state of frequent contributions to Republican funds.

It can be easily seen that this constitutes one of the most deplorable conditions existent in the government services and should be corrected immediately. The worst thing resultant from the patronage abuses is that they render the civil service requirements practically powerless to hold check over the fair and impartial selection of competent executives. It is true that a man is still required to pass the civil service examinations under the patronage regimes, but they are not, as they should be, the primary requisite for appointment to office. Instead, a man must pay the expenses of negro politicians and what not out of his own pocket to get his job and keep the rotten business up after he is put in office in order to hold the position.

The postmasters could reveal much more than they are now doing, if they were not dominated by party bosses who demand silence and money as the price of a man's job. Thus the committee is severely hampered in its investigation of the real conditions. The postmasters are hushed up and only a few of them have seen fit to reveal the extortion to which they are subjected.

This patronage business is characteristic of the Republican party's conduct in the South. The Ben Davis affair is a good example of the manner in which the postoffice affairs are conducted in this section of the country.

What is the use of maintaining our civil service if it is to be made a farce? The time has come for such an investigation as is being conducted by the Senate committee. Postmasters should be given their jobs on merit alone and should be allowed to make a decent living without having to support a party organization in the South composed primarily of negroes.

SENATORIAL QUIZ BRINGS EVIDENCE OF G. O. P. TRIBUTE

Hager, Atlanta Federal District Attorney, Contributed to Davis Organization, Records Show.

ASSESSMENTS MADE ON OFFICE VALUE

Check Stubs Show Expenses as Salary, Phone Call and Traveling; Hundreds of Victims.

BY GLADSTONE WILLIAMS.

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TIMES
CUMBERLAND, MD.

NOV 27 1928

PLANS TO HOLD THE SOUTH

According to an Atlanta dispatch Ben Davis, Georgia's negro Republican leader, has announced that he is not a candidate for re-election as national Republican committeeman with the explanation that hereafter white men are to be in charge of his party in that State. He further asserted his belief that if any negro accepted the nomination for national committeeman for Georgia, he "would be framed, discredited and sent to the penitentiary, just as Perry Howard has been framed in Mississippi and Cohen in Louisiana." Without referring to the charges that have been made against Davis himself, it may be remarked that altogether apart from them, his retirement would appear to be significant. For in his campaign speech in Tennessee Mr. Hoover said that it would be his policy to fill Federal offices in the South with persons of high standing in the several communities.

This was interpreted to mean, and it was reasonable to suppose that it meant, an intention not to appoint many negroes. No "lily white" proposition for the South appeared to be in evidence at the Kansas City Republican convention, Mr. Hoover's nomination being as largely due to Southern negro support as Republican nominations have been in the past. But there is good reason to expect it to be the proposition for some time to come if not permantly as a means of houlding the several Southern States that went Republican in the recent election. At any rate observers are predicting it, and the suggestion has been made that the new Republican "proselytizing" plan for the South is more than likely to include a "lily white" party organization there, an extensive programme of public works in that section, and even a prominent Southern Democrat in the Hoover Cabinet.

Political - 1925

Office Holding.

Georgia.

Cordele, Ga., Dispatch
Monday, April 6, 1925

THEY ARE HUSHED NOW

There was method in Postmaster General New's madness when he recently dismissed two Florida postmasters for announcing that the one had paid five hundred dollars for an endorsement for reappointment to office and the other had tried to do as much.

It will be noted that there is a sudden hush and quiet in connection with other similar contributions. Postmasters will not be in a hurry to tell what they had to pay to stay on the job. They will have the fear of losing out when Postmaster General New finds out what they have said about it.

The postmaster general is not going to let the office holders tell any more about the situation. He has a very easy means of closing the mouths of those who paid—and are now paying to retain their places. It is very likely that there will be no more of this kind of evidence to come out—not of the voluntary kind—whether there is or is not an investigation by the senate.

But it is true that the word of Ben Davis, the Atlanta negro national committee man from Georgia, goes further with the administration in Washington than does the word of the people of a whole community in the interest of an applicant for federal office. That has been proven over and over again. We suppose it will continue.

The people of the entire country will at the same time condemn the practice of paying for appointment—and for the privilege of holding federal office in Georgia and the south. It has been going on since the Harding administration came.

And yet now and then we see a criticism of the solid south.

Tuesday, April 8, 1925

GEORGIA NEGRO IS CENTER OF G. O. P. DISPUTE

Postmasters Required To Give Money Or Be Discharged, Claim

PETERSON'S LETTER BASIS OF CHARGES

SAYS REPUBLICAN PARTY GIVEN $2,000 IN FIVE YEARS; DAVIS DENIES RECEIVING FUNDS

Atlanta, Ga., Apr. 3. (UP)—Ben J. Davis, negro, republican national committeeman from Georgia had become the center of a political controversy today involving charges that postmasters through the state were called upon unceasingly to replenish the party's coffers or face dismissal.

A letter left by L. S. Peterson, postmaster of Douglas, Ga., who committed suicide Sunday after killing one of his clerks formed the basis of the charge.

Peterson, writing to his brother, said: "The republican party has pulled me for over $2,000 in the last five years and they are still claiming more on me now."

Davis last night denied ever receiving funds from Peterson.

"I have not received any funds nor have I demanded any from any postmaster in the state. As to the letter, it looks queer to me. If Senator Harris or any other senator believes that I am guilty of exacting funds from federal officeholders in return for patronage, I will welcome an investigation."

Peterson's suicide followed his dismissal. He had previously claimed he had been "framed" by Elton Kirkland, the clerk he slayed. Disposition of postoffice funds was involved.

New Denies Knowledge

Washington, Apr. 3. (UP)—Postmaster General New denied knowledge today that L. S. Peterson, democratic postmaster at Douglas, Ga., had committed suicide because he was forced to contribute $2,000 to the republican party.

He said Peterson had a known shortage of $266 in his accounts.

Peterson, who killed a postal clerk and then himself Sunday, left a note indicating the $2,000 had been in return for patronage under which he was permitted to retain his post The donations stripped him financially, the note read.

Savannah, Ga., News
Sunday, April 5, 1925

BEN J. DAVIS, NEGRO REPUBLICAN CHIEF, DENIES CHARGES AGAINST HIS PARTY

Atlanta, April 7 (AP).—The Republican party organization in Georgia, through its negro national committeeman, Ben J. Davis, today issued a general denial of charges that it had solicited money from postmasters in the state in exchange for patronage.

His statement took up in detail three cases that have been brought to public notice growing out of the suicide a week ago of L. S. Peterson, postmaster at Douglas, who slew one of his clerks and left a letter to his brother charging that he had been driven into debt by forced contributions to the Republican party in order to hold his post.

Besides this case, the others answered by Davis were those of Mrs. Sallie P. Lang, former postmistress of White, who wrote Davis that she lost her job when she failed to contribute $100, and Professor J. E. Mathis, superintendent of the Americus public schools, who charged that $250 was demanded of a youth in whom he was interested for a rural mail carrier's job but that a man who raised the "ante" got the post.

Davis' answer said that Peterson was removed from his post because an alleged shortage of $244.33 was found in his accounts and added:

"Mr. Peterson was a Democrat appointed by a Democratic President, and a Democratic congressman had kept him in office under two Republican administrations as a courtesy on account of the office being the congressman's home office and he has never paid a cent to the Republican organization for retention in office.

"The matter of Mrs. Sallie P. Lang we know nothing about. That happened under a 'lily white' chairman, if it happened at all, during the Phillips administration back in 1923 when the present organization was not in power.

"As to the Americus matter we know nothing about it. When Prof. Mathis said that he bid $250 for the carrier's place he violated the law and I do not know with whom he put up the money, or who offered to put it over. And, when he said the 'flunkey' who did not pass the examination got the job, he reflects upon the administration and if he has reference to the appointment of the rural carrier in Americus, possibly a month ago, I can say this that the man who was appointed was first on the eligible list and had military preference. * * *"

COL. JOE WATSON FIGHTS BEN. DAVIS

Albany, Ga., May 14.—Answering the urge of my many friends, and delegates to the Kansas City Convention of the Republican party, I do hereby announce my candidacy for Republican National Committeeman for Georgia for the next four years, pledging to the party, if elected at Kansas City by the regular, accredited delegates there assembled from this state, to faithfully perform the duties as National Committeeman, having regard for the wishes of the organized party in the districts and state, remembering at all times that I am the servant of the party, and not its boss, and that my duty, in fine, is to carry out the wishes of the party, to the best of my ability.

Thanking both those who have pledged themselves to support me at Kansas City, and those who will support me, and assuring them that my every act, if elected, will have for its aim and intent, the highest good of the party in general, and my friends in particular, I am,

Yours for service,

Joseph H. Watson.

Sandersville, Ga., Progress
Wednesday, April 25, 1928

Ben Davis, the colored Republican committeeman of Georgia, has been pulling at the purse strings of the postmasters in this state. Aspirants for appointments are required to pay in advance for his endorsement, and when an appointment is made he continues to make assessments against the salaries. We know of one man who paid three hundred dollars for an endorsement, thinking that he would surely receive an appointment, and it went to another man who refused to fork over the cash, as the endorsee failed to pass the examination which the government requires. He asked for the return of his money, but it was not forthcoming, as the Republican manager stated that he had done what he was paid for doing, and thus the matter ended.

HERALD

MAY 1928

AFTER THE SCALP OF BEN DAVIS.

Joseph H. Watson, prominent Albany Negro, has announced his candidacy for Republican national committeeman for Georgia. The place will be filled when the Republican national convention meets next month at Kansas City, and there may be quite a bit of politicking before a decision is reached in the high court of the Grand Old Party.

In fact, it appears that the pot is already boiling from the fire kindled by this Georgia contest. The recent Republican state convention endorsed Herbert Hoover for the Republican presidential nomination, but did not instruct the Georgia delegation for him. That, together with certain other developments in which the fine Italian hand of Ben Davis, present national committeeman for Georgia, has been seen, is understood to have aroused the resentment of the Hoover supporters, and they covet Davis's scalp. If current reports are to be believed, ten of the sixteen Georgia delegates to the Kansas City convention are pledged against Davis, which is understood to mean that they are pledged to Watson.

Joseph H. Watson is a leader of his race in this state. His life has been spent in Albany, where he has many friends in both races. He is president of the Supreme Circle of Benevolence, a Negro fraternal and benevolent order with headquarters in Albany and lodges in several states. It owns a handsome headquarters building, and publishes a sprightly weekly newspaper which is circulated among its members. Watson is an able executive, he has tact and judgment in which Ben Davis often seems to be lacking, and it is not surprising that he should have been selected to lead a movement to oust the present Georgia national committeeman.

THE DAVIS-WATSON EPISODE
(The Georgia Baptist)

This is a religious paper, though in former years it did take part in political matters. Our policy, however, is to specialize in religion, though we are free to express ourselves on any public question whatever. Sometimes freedom is one thing and wisdom is quite another.

We hold no briefs for Ben Davis, in fact we differ with him more often than we agree with him. I think he has made mistakes in the past, but whatever the past may be, the people of Georgia are deeply concerned about the present political mess brought on by Joe Watson's infidelity. From our viewpoint it seems that Watson and his crowd have betrayed the people who trusted him and is unworthy of that trust again. The same applies with equal force to Roscoe Pickett. Pickett has done things like this before, unless I am misinformed.

So far as we are personally concerned, we do not care who holds the positions sought for as politics are now applied in Georgia, the office holders are about the only ones that reap benefits, but we do believe in fair play and keeping faith with the people. This has not been done. As we said, Ben Davis may not be all that we would like to see him, but his ability and fitness is as far above Watson's as the sun is above the moon. There is almost no comparison between the two men. But if Watson betrays his trust with the people and bolts the party convention that elected him, what will he do if he is promoted and given larger powers? If he will disgrace his state before the nation as he has done, and be a mere camp-follower, what may we expect of him if he was placed in charge of his party in the state? This question calls for most serious reflection on the part of the public.

Davis and I are no bed fellows. I have never been one of his admirers nor followers. Watson's move and tactics, however reaches farther than Ben Davis. His course, if successful, would destroy popular rule and orderly government which would entrench him as dictator and sovereign. The people would be out of authority and he would be in as lord of all he surveys.

The people should act and consign these bolters to their rightful positions in the rear. They are not entitled to any more trust.

John Martin, Treasurer, and Ben J. Davis, Negro NationalCommitteeman, Quizzed by Senators.

Admission that practically every postmaster in the state has been contributing to the Georgia republican "slush fund" was obtained from John W. Martin, treasurer of the republican central committee, Monday during examination before the opening session of the senate subcommittee's investigation into patronage charges here.

Martin, in response to a question by Senator Walter F. George, who with his colleague, Senator William J. Harris, did most of the questioning of witnesses, also stated that most of the postmasters contributed monthly to the G. O. P. machine in this state.

Martin, when data taken from a card index was called to his attention, showing that postmasters in the same class and drawing the same salary paid the same monthly amount, admitted that he could not explain how these postmasters had decided, without consultation, to make the same monthly remittance to the state machine.

Card Index Shows Payments.

This card index, furnished the subcommittee by Martin and showing that postal employees have paid sums varying from $8.50 to $12.50 monthly, became the focal point around which much of the questioning of witnesses revolved. The Georgia senators insisted that the cards showed that postmasters, many of them democrats, have been forced to pay monthly sums into the state republican treasury.

Ben J. Davis, negro republican national committeeman for Georgia, and Martin were the only witnesses placed on the stand Monday. The committee recessed shortly before 1 o'clock in the afternoon until 9:30 o'clock this morning, when additional witnesses will be sworn in. The hearing is being conducted in the federal building before Senators Smith W. Brookhart, Iowa, republican, chairman, and Cyrus Locher, Ohio, democrat. Senator Oddie, Nevada, republican, who also was expected, could not come to Atlanta.

Attorneys William Schley Howard, of Atlanta, and J. W. Arnold, of Athens, have been retained by the executive committee of the state central committee to represent the republican organization in Georgia.

Davis, when placed on the stand, asserted that he knew nothing of alleged levying on postal employees. He admitted, however, that he had heard complaints that funds had been collected. He declared that the only money he had received was that donated by regular party members at the time of the state convention.

had not and pointed out that any money received what-so-ever was given voluntarily and was used for expenses of the central committee.

Dixie Diplomacy Fails In Georgia

Fail to Involve Race Leader in "Slush Fund" Scandal

Special

ATLANTA, Ga., July 12. —The obvious two-fold desire of Southern Democrats to strike a blow at the Republican party as well as Negro political leaders, contained in the George and Harris (Ga. Dem.) Senate postoffice patronage probe resolution, culminated little in the investigation, in Georgia, which came to a close here Wednesday.

Substantial evidence of sale of patronage by Georgia Republican leaders was not definitely established at any time in the course of the investigation during which numerous witnesses were called to the stand.

Benjamin J. Davis, former national committeeman from Georgia, was brought to the stand a number of times. He testified that he never bartered off a postoffice position and that he had even rebuked several persons who made insistent efforts to buy offices. In each instance of charges that he had received money, Davis showed that he

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OUST MRS. WILLIAMS AS COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Sara Watson King of Albany Successor to Savannah Woman

ATLANTA, Ga., Mar. 15.—Political circles here received a jolt Saturday when it was announced that Mrs. George S. Williams had been defeated for the office of Republican National Committeewoman by Mrs. Sara Watson King, of Albany, Ga.

While the defeat of Mrs. Williams was somewhat of a shock in certain circles, it was expected, due to the fact that she was aligned with the faction in Savannah, and Chatham County, headed by Walter S. Scott and Foster B. Pettie, which is alleged to have been hostile to the national committeeman, Benjamin J. Davis.

Mrs. King is the daughter of J. H. Watson, perhaps better known to Georgia Republicans as "Uncle Joe" Watson, and is a real chip off the old block, when it comes to courage and astuteness. She is a graduate of the Normal Department of Atlanta University and was the first woman in the State of Georgia to pass the examination as an embalmer. She has taken an active part in the political activities of Dougherty County and the club work of the state and is declared a worthy successor to Mrs. Williams who established an enviable record as National Committeewoman.

BEN DAVIS DEFEATS MRS. G. S. WILLIAMS

(Special to The Eagle.)

Atlanta, Ga., March 7.—The Republican state convention assembled in this city today and indorsed the Coolidge administration, elected B. J. Davis, Joe Watson, J. H. Landers, T. W. Hendricks as delegates to the Kansas City convention. The last two named delegates are white.

Immediately after assembling the convention indorsed Judge Ogden Ferons, a Democrat for the Federal bench in the middle district. This precipitated a bitter fight and as Ben Davis had his steam roller working the indorsement went through.

The committee on credentials heard contests of 12 counties and seated all delegates with a half vote each excepting those from Chatam County, the home county of Mrs. George S. Williams, the National committeewoman. The faction to which Mrs. Williams belong, the Pettie faction, although their delegates were properly elected by duly registered voters, the Davis steam roller would not show this faction any mercy.

When the committee on organization reported the naming of Mrs. Sarah Watson to supplant Mrs. George S. Williams as National committeewoman, the convention broke into pendemonium. A motion was made to strike out Mrs. Watson's name and substitute Mrs. Williams, but Ben Davis' influence over Chairman Pickett was so great that Pickett ruled the motion out of order.

This is the way Ben Davis showed his appreciation of Mrs. Williams' loyalty to him. There is strong talk here of the Pettie faction holding another convention and electing contesting delegates and other national committeeman and woman.

NEW YORK WORLD

APR 4 1928

days ago.

Georgia Boss Denies Extortion From Office-Holder

Special Despatch to The World

ATLANTA, April 3.—Ben J. Davis, Negro National Republican Committeeman for Georgia, to-day denied charges in a letter left by L. S. Peterson, suicide Postmaster, that he had extorted contributions from this office-holder. Davis draws a salary of $250 a month and the committee maintains offices in Atlanta.

Charges that Federal patronage has been and is being distributed in Georgia on the basis of contributions to the party organization have been made at intervals for many years.

Davis has amassed considerable wealth during the last few years, particularly since his election as National Committeeman. He is a large property owner in Atlanta, is interested in several business enterprises controlled by Negroes, and publishes a newspaper.

Leaders of the "lily white" faction of Georgia Republicans make no secret of their belief that forced contributions have been obtained in return for indorsements of applicants for Federal appointments and from appointees after taking office.

Cordele, Ga., Dispatch
Tuesday, April 3, 1928

THE DOUGLAS TRAGEDY

If there is any truth in the last message the Douglas postmaster left when he slew his money order clerk and then took his own life, the republ- will stand out more clearly because of for conditions in Georgia has devolving upon it some responsibilities which wll stand out more clearly because of this tragedy.

We have had republican troubles heaped on this state in rare abundance since the Coolidge administration set up the negro, Ben Davis, in Atlanta to peddle patronage in Georgia We had it over the Middle District United States court. Negro rule in Georgia will not go. This is a white man's country. The republican party is large and all powerful, but it cannot impose such things as negro endorsements of federal judiciary appointments upon the people and keep them satisfied Neither can it dispose of the postal jobs in such manner.

There is appalling political corruption in the methods employed all over the south in imposing patronage peddlers upon the public. That has been going on since the corrupt Harding administration came into office. Coolidge has never done one little thing to set up a more deserving republican political organization in Georgia—and Douglas incident is most likely due wholly to the corrupt practice of bleeding the office holder.

Peterson—poor fellow—apparently believed he could hold on when he first made his contribution. But he should have known that such an organization would bleed him white before he went further. And again,, he had little respect for himself when he accepted office with the negro patronage peddler at all.

Georgia and the south are deserving of better management of public offices than that. A republican administration that insists on such conditions should not be permitted to rule.

DRIVEN INTO DEBT TO PAY PATRONAGE LETTER DECLARES

Ben Davis, Negro National Committeeman, Named in One Letter Found on Dead Man.

DAVIS DENIES PART IN ENFORCING FEES

Douglas Postmaster Wrote Brother Describing "Forced Assessments" Before Shooting.

Douglas, Ga., April 2.—(AP)—Charges that the republican party had exacted donations from him that had driven him into debt and that "they are still claiming more" were made by L. S. Peterson, democratic postmaster here for more than 12 years, in a letter written shortly before he shot and killed one of his clerks and committed suicide yesterday. Constitution

The shooting took place just after Peterson had been relieved of the post by a recently appointed successor.

Peterson, who received an annual salary of $2,700, said that these contributions amounted to more than $2,000 over a period of five years and indicated that they had been demanded in return for patronage under which he was permitted to retain his position. Atlanta Ga.

His letter, addressed to his brother, J. H. Peterson, and read at the coroner's inquest, also charged that he had been "framed" by two employees of the postoffice, one of whom, J. E. Kirkland, was his victim.

"The republican party has pulled me for over $2,000 in the last five years," he wrote, "and they are still claiming more on me now. Thomas W. Overstreet, the inspector, and Elton Kirkland, money order clerk, are

so blame for it all. They have done everything against me that they could do. They have framed me.

"These donations are responsible for my financial condition. What they have taken away from me is why I am in debt today. I understand that they are going to put me out tonight. For this reason I cannot face my friends any longer."

Authorities also made public today a letter found in Peterson's pocket after the shooting, in which he was directed to send money to R. H. Johnson, postmaster at Ocilla, Ga., to be sent in turn to Ben J. Davis, negro republican national committeeman for Georgia, in Atlanta. It was dated September 27, 1927, but bore no signature.

Peterson, who first was appointed by President Wilson and who was widely known in this section, did not elaborate on his charges against Kirkland and Overstreet, but friends said he and the former had been in disagreement for some time over various office matters.

Last February two special government investigators appeared at his office and checked the postmaster's cash accounts. The result of their inquiry was not revealed.

Postmaster Peterson received a telegram Saturday afternoon announcing the appointment of L. L. Sutton to succeed him. That night, members of his family said, he spent several hours writing letters and the following morning received Mr. Sutton at the postoffice and delivered the keys to the office.

He then was said to have walked to the rear of the office, where the full force of clerks were engaged in assorting the heavy Sunday morning mail and asked Kirkland to take him for a ride in the country. They left in Kirkland's automobile and nothing further was heard of them until passing motorists found their bodies in the machine, the motor of which was still running, on a highway about three miles from here.

At the coroner's inquest, which returned a verdict that Peterson had slain Kirkland and then killed himself, it was brought out that the postmaster several days ago had borrowed a pistol from a policeman on the pretext that prowlers had been seen in the vicinity of his home.

Funeral services for both men were held here late today, with burial in the city cemetery. Both were married and leave families.

DAVIS DENIES RECEIVING FUNDS.

Ben J. Davis, national republican committeeman from Georgia, Monday night positively denied receiving any funds from Postmaster Peterson, or from any other postmaster.

"I have not received any funds," he said, "nor have I demanded any from any postmaster in the state. As to the letter found on Mr. Peterson's body, it looks queer to me. I understand the letter was postmarked September, 1927, and that it was unsigned. I know nothing of the letter, but it bears the marks of a frame-up to me. Why should a man keep such a letter so many months? If Senator Harris, or any other senator, believes that I am guilty of exacting funds from federal officeholders in return from patronage, I will welcome an investigation."

DEAD MAN WROTE LANKFORD.

Washington, April 2.—(AP)—A letter received today by Representative Lankford, of Georgia, from L. F. Peterson, Douglas, Ga., postmaster, who killed his assistant, J. T. Kirkland, and then took his own life yesterday, advised him "not to be surprised at anything that might happen."

"The letter was written last Saturday night and received twenty hours after the tragedy," Lankford said. "Peterson went into details about several other matters connected with his removal from the postmastership at Douglas. I do not feel at liberty to divulge these details until I can make a full investigation, as a part of the details is based on opinions and conclusions of Petersons', in which he might have been in error."

Lankford, whose home is in Douglas, said that he made every effort to have Peterson retained in office, but that last week an order was issued by the department appointing Lacey L. Sutton as acting postmaster, which automatically relieved Peterson.

Harris Not Surprised.

Senator William J. Harris said: "I am not surprised," when informed that Peterson blamed the tragedy on forced contributions to the republican party organization in that state.

"The negro, Ben Davis, republican committeeman, I understand, is placing assessments on all postmasters in Georgia. The Peterson case is not an exception, but is the rule."

Senator George, the other democratic member from Georgia, said that he had no doubt that Peterson had been compelled to contribute to the republican organization or to someone who claimed to represent the state body.

"This condition obtains in far too many instances in the state," he said. "Not a few shortages developing in the last few years have been traceable to the fact that men who claimed to be the agents of the republican organization have constantly exacted toll of both the applicant for, and the holder of federal positions in Georgia, especially in the postoffices."

At the postoffice department it was said officials had no information concerning contributions to any one and that no such testimony had been presented at the time Peterson's office was investigated and discrepancies in his accounts found.

Shortage of Postmaster Peterson At Douglas Is Disclosed By Inspector

The Following News Item Clipped From an Atlanta Daily Justifies Position Taken by The Independent on Douglas Post Office Affair.

Joe P. Johnston, post office inspector in charge of the Atlanta office, Tuesday made public the findings of post office inspectors in their recent investigation into the affairs of Postmaster L. S. Peterson, of Douglas, Ga., who on April 1 shot to death himself and his clerk, Elton Kirkland.

The present net shortage, according to Mr. Johnston, is $2,400, for which the surety company that bonded Peterson is liable. The total shortage discovered by post office inspectors was $7,339, but $4,935 was recovered, Mr. Johnston said.

According to the report submitted by Post Office Inspectors H. H. Hudson and T. W. Overstreet, who investigated the case, Peterson drew three drafts on the Atlanta post office amounting to $6,500 for withdrawals in the postal savings funds. He also obtained $750 from the postal funds and $89 from the kept deposit funds, Mr. Johnston said.

The drafts, it is said, were issued as follows: March 24, $3,000; March 30, $2,500, and March 31, $1,000. The day after the issuance of the draft on March 31, Peterson shot himself and his clerk.

At Peterson's home $1,000 was first recovered and later $1,700, said to have been left for his brother and $2,300 said to have been left for his wife. Peterson was under $12,000 bond.

A complete report of the inspectors' findings has been sent to Washington, Mr. Johnston asserted.

At the present time, two department of justice agents and two special investigators from the post office department at Washington are in the state making a thorough inquiry into charges that federal jobs are bought and sold under Republican patronage in the state, as an outgrowth of the Douglas shooting, Mr. Johnston said.

The special investigators were directed to Georgia by Attorney General John G. Sargent and Postmaster General Harry S. New. Reports of their findings will be made at the conclusion of their probe. This special inquiry was demanded recently in a resolution introduced by Senators Harris and George, of Georgia.

The alleged $234 shortage, for which Peterson was dismissed from office was accounted for before the $6,500 shortage was discovered, Mr. Johnston stated.—Atlanta Journal.

THE WORD OF BEN DAVIS

Ben Davis denies that there is any crookedness in the way republican party affairs are managed in Georgia. We suppose that settles it—Moultrie Observer.

The administration at Washington is not only taking Ben Davis at his word, but Postmaster General New is blocking all chance of getting at the real truth by discharging postmasters who let out any kind of information about the job sales Ben Davis has been making in Georgia. The Flordia postmasters went out quick as a thought for telling they paid and tried to pay for endorsement to hold their places. Mr. New discharged them to put an end to further voluntary testimony as to what has been going on in the scuth. He doesn't want the public ta know. He dubtless knows all and is party to the corrupt method of disposing of patronage in the job sales manner. We hope the real truth will be uncovered, but under the circumstances we do not see how the lid can be prized off with New sitting tight and holding a pink slip over the heads of those who tell the truth about it.

Macon, Ga., Telegraph
Tuesday, April 3, 1928

BUT HE GOT A REPUBLICAN

Ben Davis, the colored Atlanta executive committeeman on the Republican side, is taking an active part in the judgeship fight in the Middle circuit. He refuses to indorse any Republican candidate.—Savannah Press.

But the said Ben, of Republican committee fame in Georgia, got a Republican for the job against his will. Bascom Deaver had the courage to fight for it on a white man's ground. He is Republican—which is his prerogative—but he is of the type which will have to multiply in great numbers in the South before there can be a Republican party whose fortunes and leadership are not carried around in the vest pocket of a Negro Republican patronage peddler who sells jobs for what he can make the candidate pay for them.—Cordele Dispatch.

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Senate 'Slush Fund' Probe Here Reveals Regular Payments To G.O.P. Machine by Practically Every Georgia Postmaster

Photo by Associated Press.

Constitution 7-10-28 Atlanta, Ga.

Ben J. Davis, negro republican national committeeman for Georgia, in the right foreground, as he appeared Monday before the United States senate investigating committee in the Atlanta federal building, where he was questioned about alleged irregularities in distribution of postmasterships. Seated behind the table, left to right: Senator Walter F. George, Georgia, reading from paper; Senator William J. Harris, Georgia, assisting Senator George in the questioning; Senator Smith W. Brookhart, Iowa, chairman; Senator Cyrus Locher, Ohio, and, at the extreme right, William Schley Howard, of counsel for the Georgia republican organization.

Ben Davis Cleared

WASHINGTON — Benjamin J. Davis, former republican national committeeman and state organizer, was cleared of charges that he had sold postmasterships. Postmaster General Harry S. New, in exonerating Davis, said that the reports concerning the sale of federal offices were found to be baseless.

EXONERATE BEN DAVIS

7/21/28

Former Georgia Committeeman and Republican State Organization Freed Of Charge Of Sale Of Federal Patronage.

"CHARGES BASELESS," SAYS NEW

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 19.—At a hearing July 12 before the special Senate subcommittee investigating the alleged bartering of postmasterships, Postmaster General Harry S. New exonerated Benjamin Jefferson Davis, former Republican national committeeman, and the Republican state organization. He declared that reports of sale of postmasterships have been found generally to be baseless.

The subcommittee, consisting of Senators Smith W. Brookhart, Republican, of Iowa, and Frank Locher, Democrat, of Ohio, had just returned from an inquiry at Atlanta, Ga. It is acting under the terms of a resolution introduced in the Senate by Senators William J. Harris and Walter F. George, Democrats, of Georgia, who charged Mr. Davis with trafficking in post offices.

Postmaster General New said that when he accepted his post, having heard statements made that there was evidence of sale of post offices in Georgia, he had made up his mind that rumors of such matters should be investigated. He said he felt that he should punish any one "either buying or selling."

In 1925, he said, he learned that there was one man, who had undertaken to secure the appointment of a great number of individuals as postmasters. He found, he said, that particularly in one case, the report had undoubtedly been proved. He said he then issued an order directing that under no circumstances thereafter should that individual's name be considered in the appointment of any postmaster. He said he would rather not mention that individual's name un-

less the committee directed it, but that he was a member of the State committee in Georgia.

Mr. New said he told the two Georgia Senators that if they heard any rumors of sales of post offices, or of improper conduct of postmasters in that State, he hoped they would let him have all the facts and promised them a full investigation in every such case.

He gave the subcommittee a list of every post office appointment in Georgia since March 4, 1921, with a record, he said, of who were consulted in the making of those appointments. He said that in 62 per cent of the cases either the Senators or Representatives in the House were consulted before the appointments were made.

"So," he said, 'they had prior information of every appointment made in the State."

"There have been from time to time," Mr. New stated, "rumors of sales of post offices, every one of which has been investigated. I have run them all down and in every one of them but one, I have found that it was always a case of something that happened not there, but in the next township.

"There was just one case of attempt at a sale. A colored man named E. W. Brinkens received $350 on the understanding that he would recommend a man named Batten for appointment as a rural free delivery carrier. Batten failed to pass the civil service examination and wanted the money back he had paid Brinkens. Brinkens said he had spent the money. Finally Everett C. Know, who was superintendent of schools, got Brinkens to put a mortgage on his cow and mule for $285 to pay Batten back. This amount was paid to Know, who endorsed the amount over to Batten."

Mr. New stated that meantime Knox had been appointed postmaster at Nahunta, Ga. He said he ordered Knox's removal as postmaster. Immediately, he said, he was appealed to by the highest Democratic authority to save Knox. "I said to them," Mr. New added, "that I had done all that I could do, that I could not see any difference between Mr. Brinkens and Mr. Knox on whom was fitted the halo of respectability. I removed Knox."

'I have no doubt that postmasters in Georgia," Mr. New said, "have contributed to the Republican organization down there. I am not defending the practice. But I think that the committee will find that the same contributions were made by the postmasters to the Democratic organizations when the latter were in power.

"I am filing here letters addressed to one of these same Georgia postmasters by a very high Democratic authority, a member of the Democratic national committee, W. D. Jamison, who was their director of finance. The letter in question was addressed to a postmaster asking for $75, as quickly as possible, and adding what the civil service law was respecting solicitation of contributions from Federal employes. The writer in this case took precautions to absolve himself from any violation of the law. These letters cover a period from 1917-1920, inclusive.

"I am also filing a report of an investigation made by W. R. Spilman, now superintendent of post-office survey, who was assigned to look up these cases. These letters were sent broadcast to every postmaster in the country. Complaints began to come in from the Democratic national committee that it had reason to believe that its letters were being rifled of money. Investigation found that a clerk in that committee's employ had opened the letters.

"This whole case started from a man who for 14 years was postmaster at Douglas, Ga., Mr. Peterson, first appointed under the Wilson administration and then reappointed under the Harding administration, at the request of Congressman Lankford, of Georgia, through Ben Davis.

"Post-office inspectors reported that Mr. Peterson was short in his accounts, $224.23. When postmasters are short I dispose of them. A man who takes public money cannot remain as a postmaster. I ordered his removal. I was immediately appealed to keep Peterson in office. Congressmen appealed to me at my office.

"Mr. New said a story was then told him that Peterson had given the Republican organization in Georgia $2,000.

"I wanted to know the facts, because that introduced a new element into the situation," he said. "I became convinced that it was not true and let the removal stand. Later I heard that Peterson has said in a letter that it was true and I made a thorough investigation. I am satisfied it was not true and Mr. Lankford admitted to me it was not true.

"After the order for Peterson's removal was drawn, it was learned, he drew drafts on his postal savings fund and brought his total shortage to $6,338.58. Mr. Peterson killed his money order clerk and then committed suicide.

"Nobody regrets the extremes to which Peterson went any more than I do. He did not give the Republican organization the $2,000 as claimed, but did give it $115."

Postmaster General New said he was not defending anyone but his department. "I have no doubt," he added, "that there have been contributions made through the Republican committee and you will find these same postmasters have made contributions to the Democratic state committee when the Democrats were in power."

BEN DAVIS' FOES PLANNING FIGHT

Macon, Ga., July 27.—(AP)—Sol C. Clemons, of this city, one of the negro members of the republican state central committee, ousted by Ben J. Davis, whose status as republican national committeeman from Georgia has been questioned since the Kansas City convention, declared tonight that Davis acted without authority in displacing the members who were said to have been opposed to him.

"We are waiting until Roscoe Pickett, chairman of the central committee, returns from Washington in a few days," said Clemons. "At that time Pickett will call a meeting of the central committee, a state executive committee will be chosen and a permanent organization perfected.

"Th term of office of the executive committee expired at the close of the Kansas City convention. There will be a meeting in a few days and the organization will be completed."

BEN DAVIS' FOES OUSTED, HE SAYS.

BY THE ASSOCIATED PRESS.

Ben J. Davis, negro, ousted national republican committeeman from Georgia, claims to have succeeded in removing his opponents from the state central committee, it was learned Friday.

The Atlanta Independent, a negro weekly newspaper edited by Davis, carried a story that Roscoe Pickett, Jasper, Ga., had been displaced as chairman of the central committee, and G. F. Flanders, Swainsboro, named to succeed him.

Seven other members of the central committee also were said to have been ousted and new members chosen to fill their places. The action was said to have taken place at a meeting last Monday which was enjoined by Davis' opponents from choosing presidential electors.

Pickett Fought Renomination.

Pickett fought the renomination of Davis at the Kansas City convention and Joe Watson, Albany negro, one of those said to have been ousted from the committee, was Davis' rival. Pickett announced that Watson had been elected, but a Davis lieutenant challenged the vote and the convention finally referred the matter to the national committee. No announcement of a decision has been made.

B. J. Cofer, Albany negro editor, who obtained the injunction to prevent Monday's meeting from electing the presidential electors, also was said to have been expelled from the committee. The others who were said to have been replaced were: T. N. Hendricks, L. H. Crawford, E. J. Turner, S. C. Clemons and R. C. Williams.

H. A. Hunt, C. E. Wigfall, R. P. Hufstatler, William James, J. B. Dove, W. A. Carlisle, A. W. Barrow, D. A. Winston and W. S. Harris were the men said to have been chosen to replace those ousted.

Duke Filed Charges.

Charges against the ousted members were said to have been filed by O. M. Duke, of Floville, on the ground that they had violated their instructions from the state convention to reelect Davis as national committeeman.

Davis has insisted since the Kansas City convention that those who voted for Watson had violated their instructions, while leaders of the opposing wing said they had acted within their rights because of what they termed "subsequent developments" which they did not explain."

Hearing on Cofer's injunction was scheduled in superior court here today. Cofer claimed there was no official executive committee in the state because of the failure of the national convention to name a national committeeman.

Meanwhile, Pickett was understood to have gone to Washington to confer with republican leaders over the situation.

INJUNCTION HALTS MEETING OF G. O. P.

Attempt To Name Georgia Electors in November Race Stopped on Court Order.

A deputy sheriff with eight copies of an injunction Monday halted during an adress a meeting in the courthouse construed as an attempt to name Georga's republican electors in the forthcoming presidential race.

Eight republican leaders were temporarily restrained under the order from selecting the electors until the case can be heard, July 28, before Judge Virlyn B. Moore, in Fulton superior court.

B. J. Cofer, Albany negro editor, obtained the order, which cited as defendants, the following:

Ben J. Davis, Atlanta negro editor and republican national committeeman, whose reappointment has not been confirmed; Roscoe Pickett, of Jasper, chairman of the state central committee; J. T. Rose, internal revenue collector for Georgia; John W. Martin, former United States marshal here; Clint W. Hager, United States district attorney; Maymie Williams, Savannah negress, republican national committeewoman; J. L. Harris, Athens negro, and J. H. Watson, Albany negro.

Cofer applied for the injunction at about the time the meeting convened. The papers were signed by Judge Moore and served shortly later by Deputy Sheriff Emmett Quinn, who obtained admittance while a speech was in progress.

The speech was interrupted while the court officer distributed his papers. Several of the republicans retired, while the remainder continued in executive session for some hours, but not to select electors, it was explained.

A statement by Pickett, given to newspapermen after he had retired from the meeting, substantiated largely Cofer's contentions in the injunction petition.

Pickett said he had declared the meeting adjourned shortly before the deputy appeared. "Davis telephoned me Saturday." Pickett, who is said to have opposed Davis confirmation at Kansas Citly, declared, "and suggested that I call a meeting of the state central committee.

"I replied that I would think it over and let him know. I heard yesterday of this meeting and came down. In my opinion it was called without authority and on Davis' own volition.

"Davis insists that the meeting today was the state executive committee named at the state convention and has the right to choose electors.

"In my opinion only the republican central committee, of 72 members, can do this. If electors had been named the action would have been without authority."

Weekly Paper Says Negro State Chairman Displaced

ATLANTA, GA., July 27.—(AP)—Ben J. Davis, negro, ousted national Republican committeeman from Georgia claims to have succeeded in removing his opponents from the state central committee, it was learned today.

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Pickett fought the renomination of Davis at the Kansas City convention and Joe Watson, Albany negro, one of those said to have been ousted from the committee, was Davis's rival. Pickett announced that Watson had been elected, but a Davis lieutenant challenged the vote and the convention finally referred the matter to the national committee. No announcement of a decision has been made.

DAVIS CLAIMS VICTORY.

Negro G. O. P. Boss Says Opponents Removed.

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DAVIS RULES IN GEORGIA, OUSTS HIS OPPONENTS

Ex-National Committeeman Acts After Injunction Is Served

NINE STATE COMMITTEE MEMBERS GET GATE

Injunction Halted Only Naming Of Presidential Electors

ATLANTA, GA., (Special)—Ben Davis rules the political roost in Georgia again.

The deposed national committeeman turned upon his enemies at a meeting of the Republican State Executive Committee last week for the purpose of electing Hoover and Curtis electors to be voted on November 5th, 1928, for president and vice-president.

He was unable to transact this business when a deputy sheriff appeared with an injunction signed by Benjamin Cofer restraining them.

The injunction, however, said nothing about the executive committee transacting other business, which they forthwith proceeded to do with steam-roller precision.

Chairman Roscoe Pickett walked out without taking further part in the proceedings. Whereupon he and eight others were ousted from the committee and their places filled.

Rules were read providing that members of the State Central Committee might be expelled for breach of decorum in open meeting and for violating their written instructions and refusing to support party nominees.

Violated Instructions

All this group were among the delegates to the National Republican Convention at Kansas City instructed to vote for Benjamin Davis as national committeeman, who, however, violated these instructions and as a consequence the national committee refused to acknowledge any committeeman from Georgia.

In a signed statement issued last week in the Atlanta Independent, his own newspaper, Mr. Davis exonerated Mrs. Mabel Willebrandt and Herbert Hoover from any connection with any proceedings which ousted him from the Republican National Committee.

This he blames on the "Lily Whites" of this state who through the use of money were unable to secure a minority of colored members on the committee

All White Ticket

G. F. Flanders, white Davis' new chairman declared the Republican party will put a white congressional ticket throughout the state and run a campaign in every district.

The party will also name a list of presidential electors to be voted for on the Hoover-Davis ticket. All of them he says, will be white.

Depose Members

Members of the state committee deposed by Davis were Roscoe Pickett, Chairman, J. H. Watkins, Davis' opponent for national committeeman. R. C. Williams, L. H. Crawford, B. F. Cofer, T. N. Hendricks, S. C. Clemons and E. J. Turner.

New Committeeman (Elected?)

New Committeeman, G. F. Flanders, H. A. Hunt, C. S. Wigfall, R. P. Hufstetler, William James, J. B. Dove, W. A. Carlisle, A. W. Barrow, D. A. Winston and W. S. Harris.

Cofer withdrew his injunction, Wednesday. Pickett will use other means to fight Ben Davis' control.

Winder, Ga., News
Thursday, July 26, 1928

276 Negroes Hold Office In Democratic New York

Have you been worried about "following the leadership of Ben Davis?"

Ben is the negro who has been Republican national committeeman for Georgia. He has been discredited by his own party, and has lost his job

The Al Smith leaders have been making a great "to do" about this one, lone negro party official in Georgia. You will hear a lot about Ben Davis before the election. Efforts will be made to frighten you into voting for Al Smith with the old bugaboo of "negro domination", and this discredited negro, Ben Davis, will be cited as proof that the Republicans will force the negro on Georgia.

But here's something they will not tell you:

In New York City, controled by the Tammany Democrats, there are 276 negroes holding political or civil service positions, with salaries in each instance of more than $1,800 per year!

The Tammany wing of the Democratic party is not only the dominant Catholic party, the dominant party of the alien influences, but is rapidly becoming the dominant negro party!

William Hard, correspondent of the Consolidated Press Association, in a special dispatch from Washington to the Atlanta Journal, says:

"Tammany Negro's Friend."

"The headquarters of favorable and equal treatment for the negro politically by Democrats in the north has been for a long time Tammany Hall. It is claimed by Tammany leaders that two hundred and seventy-six negroes now hold New York city political or civil service positions with salaries in each instance of more than eighteen hundred dollars a year. It is indeed claimed by them that negroes hold more really good and lucrative positions under the New York city government alone than under the whole federal government throughout the United States.

"Ferdinand Q. Morton, a member of the New York city civil service commission and said to be the highest salaried negro office holder in the country, with those other New York city officials of his race visited Washington last week on a tour through this country westward for the organization of "Al Smith-Joe Robinson negro clubs," in all important centers of negro voting activity.

"Even in Arkansas, a state of the 'solid south,' the chairman of the state Democratic committee, J. S. Utley, has now under consideration a project for 'Smith and Robinson clubs' among Arkansas negro voters.

"Many negroes are highly dissatisfied with Republican rule. **They claim that the number of negroes occupying honorable and valuable position under the federal government has been steadily declining.** They note that the three negroes who recently have been members of the Republican national committee are all in sad trouble. Walter Cohen, of Louisiana, and Ben Davis, of Georgia, have been dropped from the committee. Perry Howard, of Mississippi—the third and only surviving member of the committee—is being severely pursued by judicial agents of the Republican federal government for alleged injudicious transactions in relation to federal offices in Mississippi."—Chatsworth Times.

An Open Letter To Whom It May Concern

In view of the political conditions affecting my Group in this country, and my relations to the Republican Party, I feel it my duty to make an explanation to the public with reference to my action with regard to the National Committeemanship from Georgia.

First. I am, and was, the choice of the Republicans of Georgia, expressed in open convention, to succeed myself as National Committeeman at Kansas City, Missouri, June 12, 1928, and the delegates from Georgia were so instructed to vote for me as such.

Second. I was unanimously elected in my state, without opposition, and the delegates were instructed to cast their votes for me.

Third. A bunch of delegates repudiated their instructions, and defeated the state of representation on the National Committee. Hence, Georgia is without representation on the Republican National Committee.

Fourth. The National Committee is the highest authority of the Republican Party in the country, when the National Convention is not in session, which meets once every four years. During the interim it has charge of party affairs.

Fifth. In case of vacancies, it devolves upon the Republican State Central Committee of the state, or territory, in which the vacancy occurs to nominate a person, or persons to fill the vacancy, subject to approval by the Full Committee, or recognition by the proper authority until the Committee shall confirm the nomination of a state.

Sixth. The National Committeemanship is a position that pays no salary, and the incumbent is required to meet his own expenses, it matters not how large, or how small, and under the law, he is not permitted to solicit funds, or accept funds from any person as a consideration for appointment, or contribution for his personal services; hence, only those, who are wealthy and can afford to spend five or six thousand dollars per annum for the honor of serving their party can afford to accept the place.

Seventh. There is no way, then, for a National Committeeman, or woman, to receive remuneration for services, unless they graft, and if they graft in violation of the plain statutes, which prohibit them from soliciting, or receiving by gift, or otherwise any money, or thing of value for services, they may expect to take the consequences. I have no desire to violate any law of my country, and being unable to finance myself, in accordance with the dignity of the position, I do not ask the Committee for the nomination.

Eighth. I have been National Committeeman since October, 1925, when I succeeded the lamented Henry Lincoln Johnson, and to date the position has cost me more than ten thousand dollars in money, time, and neglect of my business, and as a matter of justice to myself, and my family, I must give politics less time, and my business more.

Ninth. I am not moved to take this position because I do not believe that the National Committee would not unanimously ratify my nomination, or because of any fear of those who oppose my Group in politics. I have no fear of reorganization, as is being agitated by lily whites and some few federal officeholders, for the reason, we are regular. We have had our experience with bolters and disorganizers. Yes, we were reorganized in the interest of a white man's party in 1921, and we put the irregulars out of business, and have been in charge since. We have an abiding faith in the integrity and regularity of the President-Elect, and believe that the Organization will control the patronage. If any abortive action is taken to the contrary, we will be able to lick the bolters, lily whites, or meddlesome federal officeholders, as we did in 1924 at Cleveland.

Tenth. I am firmly of the belief, that if any colored man accepts the nomination for National Committeeman for Georgia, and he is recognized, as he would be, by the National Committee, he would be framed, discredited, and sent to the penitentiary, just as Perry Howard has been framed in Mississippi, and Cohen in Louisiana, if prejury could do it. Of course, Cohen was acquitted; and Perry Howard has not been tried, but doubly indicted.

Eleventh. So far, I have lived upright, have sold no offices, and have a clean conscience, and am willing to retire and turn the leadership over to those who can best serve, and will be fair to all the people in the Party, before my usefulness is destroyed. I feel that I have many political enemies in the state, some in each group, and it would not be wisdom in me to give them the opportunity to frame me through perjury, or otherwise.

Twelfth. Under all circumstances, I am going to do what I conscientiously feel is for the best interests of the Party, and in taking this action, it is not purely selfish to save myself from threatened danger, but in my humble judgment, I think it help the Party. I am a Republican and will ever remain so, so long as it stands for the principles and policies that have characterized its existence since 1856. The lily whites, and nobody else can put me out of the party.

I will take my place humbly among the ranks, and do whatever I can to defend the rights of my people, who are sinned, proscribed, and discriminated against.

Since adjournment of the Kansas City Convention, I have twice refused the unanimous nomination of the Full Committee for National Committeeman to succeed myself, because I felt, for the time being, it was for the best interests of the Party, and requested that the matter go over for a settlement until after the Election. The Election having been held, I think it is time for a settlement, and I am no longer an applicant, and return to my constituents, unsullied, the banners they placed in my hands in 1925.

B. J. DAVIS.

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Office Holding
Columbia, Ga., Dispatch
Wednesday, July 11, 1928

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GEORGIA PROBE ENDS IN STORM COUNTER CHARGES

REPUBLICAN MACHINE MEMBERS CHARGE OFFERS TO BUY PLACES WERE MADE.

ATLANTA, Ga., July 11—(AP)—A cross fire of accusations poured into the record today as the senate committee moved to its final hearing here upon alleged abuses in distribution of republican post office patronage in this state.

Specific charges of post office selling and levying of tribute met with counter charges that applicants for offices had themselves attempted to purchase these positions, and flat denials that any one had paid money to the party organization except through voluntary contribution.

Negotiations for the filling of the postmastership at Stockbridge, Ga., was the high light. T. J. Davis, an unsuccessful applicant, accused Ben J. Davis, deposed negro national committeeman, of having asked him $250 for the position.

The negro countered that the Stockbridge man not only tried to buy the office but persisted after he had read to him a copy of federal statutes "telling him that by his offer he was committing crime."

The Stockbridge Davis said the national committeeman wanted "the cash in advance," but the negro asserted that not only did he refuse any money from Davis but had already recommended another man for the job who later was appointed.

Mrs. Hattie Giddeons, postmistress at Doles Ga., told the committee that she had been solicited for contributions three months before her appointment and that afterwards the attempt to obtain money was renewed. She said she did not pay anything

J. E. Lee, an unsuccessful applicant for the post office at Pearson, Ga., asserted that two men had offered to insure him the job if he would pay $600. He said he refused to pay the money but did pay a sum which he did not estimate. Under questioning by Senator Walter F. George of Georgia he said the county republican chairman came to him after he declined to pay $600 and told him there "was no use to go further."

Testimony that he received contribution from postal employees and used the money for expense of county, district, and state republican conventions was given by B. F. Flanders, Swainsboro. Flanders who was patronage referee in the Twelfth Gorgia district told th committee h had nvr sold or bought a post office "but could sell every one of them, if I wanted to do so."

The purpose of the investigation is not to cause removal of postmasters who have contributed money to secure their appointment, it was stated by Senator Brookhart, Iowa chairman. "If the hearings prove that tribute is being unlawfully levied upon postmasters, it is the view of the committee that those who collect and enforce this tribute are the ones to blame and it is the purpose of the committee to make an end of the system he said.

Probe in Mississippi

JACKSON, Miss., July 11(AP)—Subpoena have been issued from the United States marshal's offce for the Southern District to about 160 Mississippi postmasters, chiefly democrats, to appear before the federal grand jury at Biloxi and give testimony concerning the manner in which they received their appointments, it was learned here today.

The grand jury is called for two o'clock this afternoon.

THE "NEGRO BUGABOO."

On this page is a communication from Charles Adamson, of Cedartown, prominent industrialist and capitalist, and a leader of what was once the white wing of the republican party in Georgia.

In it he asks the very pertinent question, "Why persist in holding

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up the negro bugaboo to the public of Georgia when he is to all intents and purposes disfranchised?"

No man in Georgia knows more the significance of the "negro bugaboo" than Mr. Adamson.

In 192[illegible] he was a leader in an attempt, fathered by President Harding, to build up in Georgia a white republican party. J. L. Philips, of Thomasville, and other leaders among white republicans, endeavored to place the party in this state on a basis of platform principles, and divorce it from racial lines. The movement seemed to meet with some success until the next national convention of the party kicked out the white Georgia organization and at the behest of negro political leaders from Chicago, Philadelphia and Boston, supplanted the white national committeeman with a negro, and turned over the administrative organization to him, and his successors, and they have since been levying tribute on white postmasters and other official appointees.

The disgraceful disclosures that came out at the recent senate hearing in Atlanta were a stench in the nostrils of every decent citizen of the state, regardless of political affiliations.

If the negro does not vote in Georgia it is because he has not paid his poll taxes, or is not intellectually qualified, or simply doesn't want to vote. Otherwise he can if he will.

But the "negro bugaboo" is not in the matter of voting. **It is in the matter of party dictatorship, and in the matter of patronage control.** We have it in Georgia, and to the credit of Mr. Adamson, Mr. Philips, Mr. Crawford, Mr. Rose, and others, they did everything within their power to hold down negro domination of their party in Georgia, but without avail.

While Bre'r Ben Davis has not as yet been renamed national committeeman, the only opposition to him is also a negro, and the indications are the federal patronage in this state as in Mississippi and other southern states, will be controlled by negro dictators so long as the republican party is in charge of the national administration. Certainly no relief along that line need be expected from Mr. Hoover, whose recent anti-segregation order is a clear indication of how he stands.

There is much in the republican platform that is commendable. There are a number of white republicans in Georgia, and in every state, who are among the highest type of citizenship. It would be to the interest of the south if the two major parties were more evenly balanced, but such a condition will never exist so long as negroes are made the party dictators and the patronage referees.

The "negro bugaboo," which Mr. Adamson does not fear, is a condition and not a theory, and he has been one of the leaders in unavailing efforts to make the republican party one of white supremacy in this state.

Davis Holds That He Has Done Nothing To Merit Criticism

The Constitution is in receipt of the following communication from Ben J. Davis, who for a long time has served as republican national committeeman from Georgia.

In accordance with The Constitution's policy of presenting both sides of every question we publish his communication. No other statement concerning The Constitution is reference of which the writer complains is necessary other than to point to the official record of the congressional investigating committee which recently spent several days in Atlanta making exposures that startled not only the state but the whole country.

The card is as follows:

Editor Constitution: Of late, in season and out of season, you have carried articles and editorials and publications that both libelled and slandered my good name.

These articles were fundamentally without foundation in truth of fact. You have carried these articles without the slightest proof of their correctness.

You have accused me of selling postoffices and trafficking in federal offices. This is a serious charge and you should not make it unless you have the proof. I have never sold or bargained to sell a public office of any kind to any person at any time, and I challenge you to show by proof in support of your allegations, one case of guilt.

In last Sunday's paper you said, "A negro in Rome, Ga., is a dispenser of federal patronage, that Bre'r Davis, of Georgia-at-large, and Bre'r Howard, of Mississippi-at-large, hold the republican throttle in the south." There is absolutely no foundation in fact for your statement. There is no negro in Rome who even attempts to control patronage. L. H. Crawford, United States marshal, has practically dictated every appointment made in the seventh congressional district since I have had anything to do with making recommendations to the department.

Ninety-five per cent of my recommendations were submitted to Senators George and Harris before being made, and they approved them by moving their confirmation when they came along before the senate to be heard. It matters not what their attitude was here last week before the senate investigating committee, they have approved of my stewardship and have cooperated with me, and many of our 12 congressmen have done the same thing.

I ask that you carry this article on the editorial page as an evidence of good faith. B. J. DAVIS.

Atlanta, Ga., July 17, 1928.

Bristol, Tenn., Herald-Courier
Monday, November 19, 1928

Davis Takes Himself Out.

Ben Davis, Negro Republican leader of Georgia, has announced that under no circumstances is he a candidate for re-election as National Republican Committeeman for that State and that hereafter Republican affairs in Georgia will be conducted by white leaders. The announcement was made following an executive session of the so-called Davis faction of the Republican State Committee.

Davis said he was through with party activities in an official capacity and that he would have nothing further to do with the distribution of Federal patronage in Georgia. "I am firmly of the belief," he declared, "that if any colored man accepts the nomination for National Committeeman for Georgia and he is recognized, as he would be, by the Republican National Committee, he would be framed, discharged and sent to the penitentiary, just as Perry Howard has been framed in Mississippi and Cohen in Louisiana."

Newspaper correspondents have been telling us that Mr. Hoover and Republican leaders generally plan to capitalize their party's victory in several Southern States by encouraging the establishment of active and effective party organizations in the South, and that these plans contemplate the elimination of the Negro from Republican leadership in the Southern States. "Hoover will set out at once to build up a powerful white Republican organization in the South," one correspondent stated, "and the Negro leaders will be weeded out and replaced by representative white citizens."

Howard and Cohen, Negro Republican leaders in Mississippi and Louisiana, respectively, were charged with trafficking in Federal patronage. Ben Davis says they were "framed" and that he is getting out of the Republican leadership in Georgia because he fears he too will be "framed." But possibly Davis is eliminating himself to save somebody the trouble of eliminating him.

Asheville, N. C., Times
Sunday, November 18, 1928

BEN DAVIS WON'T RUN

ATLANTA, Ga., Nov. 17.—(INS).—Ben Davis, negro Republican national committeeman from Georgia, announced Saturday he would not be a candidate for reelection.

White Republican Leader Attacking Negro Leadership Holds Democrats Responsible

Cedartown, Ga., July 16.—(Special.)—Charles Adamson, prominent cotton mill manufacturer of Cedartown, who for the past several years has been conspicuously identified with the movement to establish a white republican party in Georgia, in a statement just issued deals sharply with the present republican organization in Georgia headed by Ben Davis and praises Senator Harris and Senator George for what they have done in the effort to stop "the bleeding of postmasters, rural carriers and other federal appointees."

He terms the fear of negro domination, however, a "bugaboo" and calls for a break in the democratic party ranks to Mr. Hoover and the republican organization.

Mr. Adamson says.

"For nearly 40 years I have been working for the building of Cedartown and for Georgia.

"Living in Georgia has taught me, as nothing before, to be a citizen of the United States of North America, and not merely a party man or a citizen of any particular state.

"I am much opposed to any unfit set of men having the distribution of the patronage of any state (for instance Tammany in New York). Furthermore, there is no man living in Georgia today, or for that matter in any southern state, who has a just fear of negro domination. Out of 44,144 votes cast in Georgia at the time of Harding's election there were only 1,700 colored votes.

"With the white primary, the grandfather's clause, etc., etc., the negro be he republican, democratic or independent, is practically disfranchised in the southern states and it is my belief that he is used simply as a straw man to overcome the growing discontent within the democratic party and the rules of that party by showing the picture of Henry Lincoln Johnson or Ben Davis, with the question: 'Would you vote for a negro?'

"Party rules made 60 or 65 years ago were probably necessary at that time but not now. These rules have resulted in keeping the dominant party in the southern states in power with the consequent detriment to the growth of their states, particularly Georgia.

Today there is a minimum of votes at a general election and a nomination in a white primary is tantamount to an election.

"I attended a state convention of the republican party about eight years ago. We had permission to hold our meeting in the house of representatives in Atlanta. The bulk of the delegates were in the hall at 10 o'clock waiting for the meeting at high noon.

"The doorkeeper had instructions not to allow anyone to enter who did not present his credentials as a properly elected delegate. The police came and ordered the doors opened to the public, with the result that 200 or 300 colored men of Atlanta, headed by Henry Lincoln Johnson, came in singing and raising Cain. The orders to open the doors to the public could only have been given under direction of the state authorities—as they were.

"At another state convention of the republican party Ben Davis had two city policemen stationed at the gate, the entrance to the hall where the meeting was to be held, with instructions not to let anyone in who did not present a blue ticket issued by Ben Davis. Could he have made these policemen obey his orders without orders to the policemen from the city authorities?

"It was the democratic state and city authorities that gave these orders in both cases which came under my own personal observation.

"Why persist in holding up the negro bugaboo to the public of Georgia when he is to all intents and purposes disfranchised?

"Senator Harris and Senator George are doing magnificent work in stopping the bleeding of postmasters, rural carriers and other federal appointees.

"In doing this they are helping to clean up the so-called republican state committee for which they have my unqualified thanks.

"The Atlanta Constitution of July 10 states that the indexed cards of John Martin showed that the money paid by postmasters went into the state republican treasury. The testimony which I heard, I respectfully submit, did not say this. It went to pay salaries to Ben Davis, John Martin and others.

"I again quote from The Constitution: 'Davis being asked by Senator Harris how much money he had sent to the republican national committee, replied that he had sent none; all his funds were disbursed in the state,' I say to himself, Martin and others, as Martin testified.

"With the exception of the four-year periods, when a republican or democratic convention is to be held, the so-called republican state committee of Georgia does not function—excepting to make postmasters, rural carriers and other federal appointees of the government contribute, if possible, to furnish salaries for whoever is supposed to be the distributors of federal patronage.

"I maintain and insist that the democrats back these men as before stated for the purpose of makng believe that the republican party is under the domination of the negro and thereby preventing any break in the democratic ranks.

"Lastly, since the republican convention in Kansas City, there is no republican national committeeman, white or colored, and no national committeewoman, white or colored. Since that convention there is no chairman of the so-called central committee. The only possible officer remaining is the so-called treasurer, and he won't last much longer to enjoy the emoluments of the office after the members of the investigating committee or any one of them reach Washington.

"Therefore, let the coming campaign be conducted without straw figures to knock down or without rancor or animosity. Let us consider only what is best for our state and our beloved country."

Ben Davis Quite As National Committeeman

Lily Whiteism At Work Before Hoover Takes Seat

OrWhy The Sudden Resignation?

(Associated Negro Press)

ATLANTA, Ga., Nov. 21—Declaring that while he had no fear of any reorganization of the Republican party in Georgia and further that he believed that he would be renominated national committee by the regular wing of the party, Ben Davis, editor of the Atlanta Independent and leader of the Republican forces in the state, advised his followers Saturday that under no condition would he be candidate for renomination for the office which he has held since the death of the late Lincoln Johnson.

The announcement was made at a meeting of the group here and G. F. Flanders of Swainsboro, a white man, was recommended for the position and Mrs. Charles A. Verney, a white woman of Athens, was recommended for the position of national committeewoman, the position now held by Mrs. George S. Williams of Savannah, Georgia.

Editor Davis' formal statement to the party leaders was as follows:

"I am not moved to take this position because I do not believe that the committee would unanimously give me the nomination today, or because of any fear of those who oppose my group in politics. I have no fear of reorganization as is being agitated by lily whites and some few federal office holders, for the reason we are. We have had our experience with bolters and disorganizers. If any abortive action is taken to the contrary we will be able to lick the bolters, lily whites, or meddlesome federal office holders, as we did in 1924 in Cleveland.

"I am firmly of the belief that if any colored man accepts the nomination for national committeeman for Georgia, and he is recognized as he would be by the national committee, he would be framed, discredited and sent to the penitentiary, just as Perry Howard has been framed in Mississippi, and Cohen in Louisiana; of course Cohen in Louisiana was acquitted and Perry Howard has not been to trial."

Mrs. Williams Makes Statement

In reply to an inquiry from a representative ofthe Associated Negro Press, as what effect the nomination of a white woman for national committeewoman would have upon her status, Mrs. Georgia S. Williams, made the following statement:

"I am the only Republican National Committeewoman for Georgia and shall be for the next four yers, having been re-elected at Kansas City. And in compliance with the rules of the National Committee shall function as such. No faction can legally nominate at this time because there is no vacancy."

AND WHY "ASTONISHED?"

In Mississippi the evidences of federal patronage jobbing, involving the negro national committeeman, Perry W. Howard, who is also an assistant attorney general of the United States, are so revolting that the senate investigating committee members, announcing themselves as "astonished," have postponed the hearings pending grand jury investigations, and have returned to the capital city.

It would appear, offhand, that Bre'r Howard is in a class with Bre'r Davis, except that being a lawyer, standing behind the breastworks of a federal commission as an assistant to the United States attorney general, he has felt possibly more secure than the Georgia dispenser of federal patronage.

At best, Senator Brookhart and his colleagues have good reason to feel "shocked" at the disclosures in the south, and if the investigation is prosecuted vigorously in every southern state, and possibly in a great many other states, the same conditions of patronage corruption will no doubt be disclosed.

And yet, with all of these facts, there are some democratic malcontents who apparently want to join them. So "let it rain."

Political – 1928

Office Holding

Georgia Probe Reveals Cases For Grand [illegible]

Mrs. Wi[illegible] quest Fe[illegible]ga- tion Of[illegible]ice Sales

Cash Paid For Job

Negro Committeeman Is Again In Spotlight

ATLANTA, GA. July 10.—(AP)—The Senate inquiry into alleged irregularities in Republican patronage gathered momentum today, when with the Georgia hearing two-thirds completed, the subcommittee announced the government planned to ask immediate Grand Jury investigation of similar charges in Mississippi.

The announcement coming during a slashing session of the initial inquiry here today, said that Mrs. Mable Walker Willebrandt, assistant United States attorney general, was en route to Biloxi, Miss., to request Grand Jury action.

A mass of testimony affirming that the Republican organization in Georgia had dispensed post office patronage for financial considerations crowded the docket with sensations at the second day's hearing here.

S. N. Thompson, postmaster at East Point, Ga., a Republican, told the committee that he had contributed five per cent of his salary to the party organization and did not think he could hold his office unless he made the payments. He said many other postmasters felt as he did.

Postmasterships $500 Each

L. L. Spence, Ball Ground, Ga., testified that John W. Martin, treasurer of the Georgia central committee, asked him $500 to secure the re-appointment of Mrs. Spence as postmistress at that place. He said he declined to pay it. Inquiry from committeemen brought out that Mrs. Spence did not get the job.

Occuping the stand for the larger part of the session, Roscoe Pickett, chairman of the central committee, stoutly denied any knowledge of alleged assessments and collections, but admitted that he once received a contribution by mail from a man at Blairsville, Ga., which he returned with the advice that any voluntary contributions should be sent to the treasurer.

Negro Again in Picture

Ben J. Davis, negro, former national committeeman, who yesterday denied that he had ever accepted any contributions from applicants for postal positions, was drawn into the picture today when Senator Walter F. George, Georgia, assisting the inquiry, placed in the record a letter to the central committee's treasurer, signed by Davis.

The letter reminded the treasurer of "the Gunnels-Tennille affair" and requested that Martin ask Gunnels, who had been an applicant for the post office at Tennille, to come and get a contribution which the letter stated Gunnels had left with Davis who turned it over to the treasurer.

Asserting that Davis had had two communications from Gunnels, one asking return of the money and another withdrawing the request, the letter said:

"My complete file has been turned over to the postmaster general in this matter and he advises me to advise you to return Mr. Gunnels's contribution."

Pickett, asked about the letter, said he was not familiar with it. Under questioning he brought out that another man was appointed to the office Gunnels sought.

"Do you ever check with the treasurer who pays and who doesn't asked Locher.

"No, replied the chairman.

"As chairman don't you assume any responsibility for finances?" returned the Ohioan.

"No."

"You have no interest in the finances? Did you ever know the chairman of a political committee who was not interested in where the money comes from?"

"Certainly, I'm interested," Picket replied.

"But you just said you didn't ever confer with the treasurer about finances," Locher shot back at the witness.

Senator Smith W. Brookhart, chairman, Iowa, broke in to ask whether Pickett knew if there was any funds in the treasury at present. Pickett said he had only asked the treasurer if he had funds to cover office expenses.

"Did he say if the installments came in?" Locher interposed.

"I didn't ask him," the chairman retorted.

Harris Cuts In

Senator William J. Harris, Georgia, came in at this point with a remark that "it seems like money just drops from out of the clouds."

"It seems someone could tell us why some contributors pay certain specified amounts, said Harris.

"It don't know," replied the chairman.

Pickett told Locher he could not tell him why various letters purported to have been mailed to postal employes by party officials or others spoke of "voluntary contributions."

Senator George read a letter which he said was from a postmaster to the treasurer in which it was stated that $30 was enclosed "which with $20 covers our understanding." Pickett said he knew nothing about it.

Georgia.

"Do you want this committee to understand that as chairman of this central committee you deny all responsibility for what other members of the committee do?" barked Locher.

"I can't assume responsibility for things I know nothing about," said Pickett.

William Schley Howard, attorney for the Republican committee, sought in cross examining Spence and others to show that any system of contributing to party funds was created under a previous regime and had been continued as a custom wherever recent contributions had been made.

Custom Was To Pay For Offices, Woman Testifies

Georgia Postmistress Says Repubs Want Money Or No Jobs

Negro Is Involved

Davis Offered Man Job For $250

ATLANTA, GA., July 11.—(AP)—The Senate committee investigating Republican patronage conditions closed its inquiry locally today with a gruelling examination of a young woman postmistress who revealed that Georgia postmasters customarily paid percentages of their salary to the party organization in the state.

Recalled to the stand after she had testified last Monday, Miss Esther McCollum, postmistress at Conyers, Ga., said no money ever had been demanded of her but she has visited John W. Martin, Republican treasurer, regarding a reappointment and he had informed her it was customary to contribute a percentage of salary.

"In my case, he said it would be five per cent," Miss McCollum declared under questioning, asserting, however, that so far as she was concerned her payments were voluntary contributions. To inquiry by Senator Smith W. Brookhart, Iowa, chairman, the young woman said her payments amounted to about $100 annually.

"Dead Man" Paid

Senator Brookhart read from the report of a postal inspector who quoted Miss McCollum as saying a man "now dead" had paid $500 to Martin in her behalf.

"Did you make such a statement?" Brookhart asked.

"No, that is not the way I told him to write it," the postmistress replied. "What I said was in answer to a question as to whom might have paid Mr. Martin $500 for me, if it had been paid. I said I knew of only one man who might have done such a thing for me—a man who lived in my town and who was now dead and whose name I did not want to reveal."

"Didn't you talk to Mr. Crawford about this payment?" pressed Brookhart. Crawford is United States marshal here.

"Yes, I did," replied the witness and under further questioning related that she had been sent to Crawford by W. R. Watson, former postmaster at Lithonia, Ga., who, she said, had advised her he paid three or four hundred dollars in cash.

"What did Crawford tell you?" asked Brookhart.

"He told me not to pay it," the young woman replied.

"Money Before Appointment"

Miss McCollum then went on to say that Watson told her he "didn't know what to think about that." He declared that men who had been in politics all their lives had advised her that money would be required before she could get the appointment.

Senator Cyrus Locher, Ohio, the other member of the committee, joined Senator Brookhart in a slashing examination of the postmistress endeavoring to ascertain whether she did not know that a friend had paid Martin $500 for her. She stuck to her original statement.

"Mr. Watson was a close friend of your father and was afraid that you would lose the job if you didn't pay the money, wasn't he?" Locher demanded.

"Yes, he was," she replied.

Familiar With Machinery

At this juncture, William Schley Howard, attorney for the Republican committee, gave the committee a surprise by asking: "Watson was a postmaster himself, familiar with the machinery and you went to him for advice?"

"Yes sir," Miss McCollum said.

Locher inquired whether the young woman talked with Martin before or after an examination for her office had been called. She said she did not remember. She went to Martin only after she came to Atlanta to see Roscoe Pickett, chairman, and did not find him, she declared.

Asked if she afterwards saw Pickett, the witness replied that she did and that he told her not to pay any money. He told me he would take care of me, she said.

Miss McCollum's testimony climaxed a day filled with sensational testimony of specific instances of postoffice selling and tribute levying, coupled with emphatic denials from Republican leaders.

Davis Proffered Job.

At the morning session, T. J. Davis, unsuccessful applicant for the postmastership at Stockbridge, Ga., accused Ben J. Davis, negro former national committeeman of offering him the job for a consideration of $250. The negro promptly took the stand to deny the accusation and charge the Stockbridge man with having attempted to buy the office instead.

J. E. Lee, an unsuccessful applicant for the postoffice at Pearson, Ga., added his charges to the record that the party machine had tried to exact $600 from him for the office. He said he paid a sum of money but did not say how much, but that he refused to pay the $600 demanded.

A Dr. Malone and John Coin told him to pay $600 and come to Atlanta with Coin and he would get the office in three days, Lee declared.

"Offices For Sale."

Answering a query by Senator Walter F. George, Georgia, Lee replied that it "was generally talked about the country that the office was for sale."

G. F. Flanders, sheriff at Swainsboro, was the first witness heard today. He declared he had received contributions from postmasters which he used to pay expenses at party conventions. He said he himself had been a postmaster for 20 years and had customarily contributed to Democratic and Republican parties alike.

"Yes, I received contributions and made them," Flanders said. "I'm no grafter. If I had wanted to I could have sold every postoffice in my district. As to contributions, I know the attitude of office holders—they are grateful."

At the outset today, the committee issued a statement in which it stated that the purpose of the investigation was not to cause postmasters to lose their jobs.

"The committee wants the exact truth of the situation," the statement said, "and will certainly do all in its power to protect those who tell the whole truth."

After adjourning today, the committee announced that it would meet again tomorrow afternoon at 2 o'clock in Washington to hear Postmaster General New at his own reqest.

Whether an inquiry in another state will closely follow the Washington hearing was not indicated, but the committee had power to go into any state and already has a mass of evidence upon which to conduct an investigation in Mississippi.

Meanwhile it was stated, the committee will regard with close attention a

CHRONICLE
AUGUSTA, GA.

JUL 11 1928

The Postoffice Scandal in Georgia

While poorly paid postal clerks and carriers and postmasters in small communities struggled to provide bare necessities for their families to live, the Republican Central committee in Georgia has been waxing fat by levying contributions from these governmental employees, and Ben. J. Davis, negro Republican National committeeman from Georgia, John W. Martin, treasurer of the Central committee, and Roscoe Pickett, chairman of the committee have been drawing $250.00 a month each, with perhaps an unlimited expense account. When the truth comes out, when the facts are laid bare in all their ugliness, it will undoubtedy be shown that the actual salaries these republican grafters are getting is but a small part of the amount of the tribute that they levy.

Only a few months ago the postmaster at Douglas committed suicide because he could not stand the continued exactions of the Republican machine in Georgia and this led to an inquiry fostered by Senators William J. Harris and Walter F. George to go to the bottom of Republican political corruption in Georgia. It is openly charged that postoffices are sold to the highest bidders and Republican referees and Republican central committeemen from Georgia have lived in clover by extracting money, not only from those who hoped to get jobs, but those who had jobs and hoped to keep them.

It is an amazing story that is being told on the witness stand in Atlanta and John W Martin, treasurer of the Republican Centra committee, has already told enough to indic the Republican party, not only in this state bu all over the country, since any party tha would permit patronage to be handled in suc a way, would permit a bunch of grafters t levy assessments against people whose salar ies are not only not remunerative, but are s small that the recipients can hardly live i decency, to say nothing of comfort, is a part which certainly does not commend itself t the people of Georgia, or the country.

In his keynote speech at Houston, Claud G. Bowers excoriated the grafters in Washington, for corruption extending from cabinet officials right on down the line, and this able keynoter said that the vaunted Republican prosperity we hear so much about is false, with four million people out of work in America and a few favored corporations, with special privileges granted by the United States government, making uncounted millions of money, while agriculture is prostrated and millions walk the streets of American cities jobless and despairing, we hear of great prosperity under Republican rule. This is one side of the picture.

Turning to the other side we find in Georgia, and undoubtedly in every other state, Republican officials, men who stand high in the councils of the party, selling government jobs and levying tribute on postal employees amounting to at least ten per cent of their annual wage.

What about the civil service, is it all a big joke? We had an idea that postal employees had to stand examinations and jobs were awarded to those ranking the highest. Instead of this we find that the jobs are awarded to those who pay the most money for them. In other words, if there is a postoffice at stake, one man bids $200.00 and another aspirant raises him, then it goes to the highest bidder. Remember, these are not charges that are made by hungry Democrats who are on the outside looking in but admissions by high Republican officials. For instance, we learn that a Republican county official accepted $200.00 from an applicant for a position as rural mail carrier at Nahunta, Georgia, while at Stockbridge, Georgia, an applicant for postmastership paid $50.00 to county Republican chairman. Coming closer home we find that there are charges of assessments against postmasters at Sardis and Waynesboro.

For Martin and Davis to insinuate that these contributions to the Republican Central committee in Georgia had been made voluntarily by postal employees is so absolutely absurd and asinine as to be ludicrous.

Reading between the lines of The Associated Press dispatches in The Chronicle yesterday morning we have an idea that the half has not yet been told. With such a party in power at Washington, with graft and corruption extending from the presidential cabinet on down to the small Republican bosses in the states, is it possible that the people of America could vote to keep in power such a regime? Has Mr. Coolidge or Mr. Hoover, or anybody excepting Senator Borah and Senator Norris, ever said aught against the regime of corruption which is a stench in the nostrils of American people? Apparently political graft and corruption have the passive assent of the reigning powers in the Republican party today.

MADAM MABEL WALKER WILLEBRANDT, ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL

We have read with much concern the release issued by the Associated Negro Press, purporting to be a personal interview with the Assistant Attorney General, in charge of national prohibition enforcement, by one of its staff.

We are not carrying the release; first, because it is impudent, unethical and unfair, both to Mrs. Willebrandt and Mr. Howard.

It borders on contemptuous impropriety to approach a prosecuting officer and question his or her motive for bringing an indictment. The presumption of the law is that the information upon which the prosecuting officer acted is sufficient to warrant an investigation by a jury; and to undertake to criticize an officer, and insinuate that the officer's motives were villainous, by the very nature of the question propounded, is extremely questionable, and calculated to prejudice Mr. Howard's case before the public bar, as well as in court. Newspapers are bad places to try cases. You had better try your case in court and ask your friends to suspend judgment until you have your day in court. There is such a thing as friendship and fool friendship, and you had better be careful which you use.

It is true that there is a wicked political sentiment down in Mississippi against Mr. Howard, and would put him in stripes to get rid of his leadership, but we cannot help him by charging that the government or its officers are parties to this unspeakable infamy and devilment. Let us think and hope better of our government. Let us hope and trust Mrs. Willebrandt is incapable of race hatred and political intolerance as she so vehemently disclaims.

To condemn Mrs. Willebrandt and charge her with ulterior motives is not going to help Mr. Howard. Trying his case in the newspapers is not going to help him. He is a good lawyer and knows sane procedure. Let's not cut off our nose to spite our face.

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We don't want to get it into our heads that our courts can be used by one class of people to place convict garb on another. They are the bulwarks of our liberties, and confidence in them must not be destroyed. Mrs. Willebrandt is no race hater, and the public will not believe Mr. Howard a criminal until it is proven by the proper authority. And, let us try to see Mrs. Willebrandt in the discharge of a public duty, and doing the same thing to Mr. Howard that she would do to any other man without regard to race or color.

No sane man can successfully deny that there is a well organized movement in the South to eliminate the Negro politically, and that it bears the color of party sanction. This movement is going to succeed, largely because the Negro sits idly by and whines "Jest kase I'se a Nigger," instead of fighting for the ballot by meeting the Democratic lily-white propaganda. The white South is daily telling it in Washington, what it can do, if the Republican Party will throw the Negro overboard, and if we do not meet the argument with constructive action and by an increase in the service and growth of the party the white man will take over the ship and all will be sea.

The lily-whites cannot do anything to us if we'll hang together, but as long as we love a dollar bill better than we do principle we may expect inroads from the lily-whites and indifference from party leaders. We want to be specially cared for because we are Negroes, but we object to being neglected because we are Negroes.

What's sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander.

CHRONICLE
AUGUSTA, GA.

JUL 1 1 1928

The Postoffice Scandal in Georgia

While poorly paid postal clerks and carriers and postmasters in small communities struggled to provide bare necessities for their families to live, the Republican Central committee in Georgia has been waxing fat by levying contributions from these governmental employees, and Ben. J. Davis, negro Republican National committeeman from Georgia, John W. Martin, treasurer of the Central committee, and Roscoe Pickett, chairman of the committee have been drawing $250.00 a month each, with perhaps an unlimited expense account. When the truth comes out, when the facts are laid bare in all their ugliness, it will undoubtedy be shown that the actual salaries these republican grafters are getting is but a small part of the amount of the tribute that they levy.

Only a few months ago the postmaster at Douglas committed suicide because he could not stand the continued exactions of the Republican machine in Georgia and this led to an inquiry fostered by Senators William J. Harris and Walter F. George to go to the bottom of Republican political corruption in Georgia. It is openly charged that postoffices are sold to the highest bidders and Republican referees and Republican central committeemen from Georgia have lived in clover by extracting money, not only from those who hoped to get jobs, but those who had jobs and hoped to keep them.

It is an amazing story that is being told on the witness stand in Atlanta and John W Martin, treasurer of the Republican Centra committee, has already told enough to indic the Republican party, not only in this state bu all over the country, since any party tha would permit patronage to be handled in suc a way, would permit a bunch of grafters t levy assessments against people whose salar ies are not only not remunerative, but are s small that the recipients can hardly live i decency, to say nothing of comfort, is a part which certainly does not commend itself t the people of Georgia, or the country.

In his keynote speech at Houston, Claud G. Bowers excoriated the grafters in Washington, for corruption extending from cabinet officials right on down the line, and this able keynoter said that the vaunted Republican prosperity we hear so much about is false, with four million people out of work in America and a few favored corporations, with special privileges granted by the United States government, making uncounted millions of money, while agriculture is prostrated and millions walk the streets of American cities jobless and despairing, we hear of great prosperity under Republican rule. This is one side of the picture.

Turning to the other side we find in Georgia, and undoubtedly in every other state, Republican officials, men who stand high in the councils of the party, selling government jobs and levying tribute on postal employees amounting to at least ten per cent of their annual wage.

What about the civil service, is it all a big joke? We had an idea that postal employees had to stand examinations and jobs were awarded to those ranking the highest. Instead of this we find that the jobs are awarded to those who pay the most money for them. In other words, if there is a postoffice at stake, one man bids $200.00 and another aspirant raises him, then it goes to the highest bidder. Remember, these are not charges that are made by hungry Democrats who are on the outside looking in but admissions by high Republican officials. For instance, we learn that a Republican county official accepted $200.00 from an applicant for a position as rural mail carrier at Nahunta, Georgia, while at Stockbridge, Georgia, an applicant for postmastership paid $50.00 to county Republican chairman. Coming closer home we find that there are charges of assessments against postmasters at Sardis and Waynesboro.

For Martin and Davis to insinuate that these contributions to the Republican Central committee in Georgia had been made volunarily by postal employees is so absolutely absurd and asinine as to be ludicrous.

Reading between the lines of The Associated Press dispatches in The Chronicle yesterday morning we have an idea that the half has not yet been told. With such a party in power at Washington, with graft and corruption extending from the presidential cabinet on down to the small Republican bosses in the states, is it possible that the people of America could vote to keep in power such a regime? Has Mr. Coolidge or Mr. Hoover, or anybody excepting Senator Borah and Senator Norris, ever said aught against the regime of corruption which is a stench in the nostrils of American people? Apparently political graft and corruption have the passive assent of the reigning powers in the Republican party today.

MADAM MABEL WALKER WILLEBRANDT, ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL

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Political - 1928

Georgia.

Office Holding.

Ben Davis, Republican National Committeeman, Denies Charges

Amsterdam News.

Political Boss of Georgia Says Shortage in White Postmaster's Accounts and Not Forced Contributions Were Back of Murder and Suicide

New York, N.Y.

4-14-28

ATLANTA, Ga., April 9.—Theft of postal funds and not forced contributions to the Republican party in Georgia is given as the motive for the suicide of L. S. Peterson, white, Democratic postmaster at Douglas, Ga., by Benjamin Jefferson Davis, Republican National Committeeman for Georgia.

Immediately after he had been removed from Office, Peterson shot and killed one of his clerks, Elton Kirkland, and committed suicide. At the inquest a letter addressed to his brother, J. H. Peterson, charged that enacted donations to the Republican party had driven him into debt. An unsigned letter, supposed to have been found in Peterson's pocket, directed him to send money to R. H. Johnson, postmaster at Ceilla, Ga., to be forwarded to Mr. Davis. This letter was dated Sept. 27, 1927.

Peterson was first appointed by the late President Woodrow Wilson. He was a Democrat and retained the office until postal inspectors recommended his removal for a shortage through the influence of Representative William C. Lankford, white, Democrat, also of Douglas, Ga. His successor was recommended by Mr. Davis.

Mr. Davis' statement follows:

"The Post Office Department checked his accounts and found him $244.33 short. His removal was ordered. After he had been advised that he would be removed because of this shortage, he embezzled, between March 24 and April 1, approximately $7,000 of Government funds by means of faked drafts drawn against the Atlanta post office.

"After he had been notified that he would be removed from office he drew a sight draft in favor of himself on the postal savings account for $3,000. On March 30 he drew another draft, payable to himself for $2,500. On March 31 the third draft was drawn. It was for the sum of $1,000. These drafts were cashed by a local bank. During this time he embezled $839.50 of other postal funds, making a total of $7,339.50.

"Since the death of Mr. Peterson, his wife has turned over to Government agents the sum of $1,000, leaving a balance of $6,339.50 still due the Government, not including the shortage of $244.33 for which he was removed from office.

"The daily press was in possession of these facts, but failed to publish them, but continued to publish the false charge that this man was driven to murder and suicide by exacted donations to the Republican party.

"While our Senators (George and Harris) were in Congress vouching for the honesty and integrity of Mr. Peterson, declaring that they knew him personally and that he was an honorable man, he had in his possession the sum of $7,339.50 which he had embezzled from the Government after he had been notified that his services were at an end.

"These facts are a complete repudiation of any letter he may have written to his brother or anybody else that the Republican party had extorted money from him. His crime was aggravated. After he had been found short in his accounts and ordered removed from office, he embezzled Government funds, murdered a clerk and killed himself. It seems to me that, after making up his mind to commit murder and suicide, he first sought to provide for his family, and then sought to mitigate his crimes by planting letters upon himself charging the Republican party with extorting money from him.

"Mr. Peterson was a Democrat. He was appointed by a Democratic President. A Democratic Congressman kept him in office through two Republican administrations, Douglas being the Congressman's home town. Mr. Peterson never paid a cent to the Republican party for his retention in office."

Statement of National Committeeman Davis on the Douglas, Ga., Post Office Affairs

Atlanta, Ga., April 6, 1928.

To the City Editor of the Atlanta Georgian,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sir:

Responding to your request for a statement on the situation at Douglas, Georgia, I have to say that I presume that you, in common with the public, are interested only in the truth, without prejudice to anybody who may be involved in the unfortunate affair.

First—I hesitated to make a statement because the daily press in Atlanta has not been fair to me, or the Republican Party. It has sought to make out a case of responsibility for the suicide of Postmaster L. S. Peterson and the murder at his hands of Mr. Kirkland against the Republican Party and to excuse him for the double tragedy under the excuse that he was forced to commit the crime by reason of the fact that the Organization had extorted large sums of money from him as payment for retention in his job.

Second—I know it to be the policy of the Democratic press to obscure the virtues of the Republican Party in general and the Negro in particular and parade its vices. And for this further reason I have hesitated to make further statements.

Third—The Georgian has been more unfair to me than either of the other dailies, and I thought the best policy was not to make any statement to it. In Thursday's issue it stated that I virtually admitted graft in the Republican Party and charged that I said that it was a common thing for the postmasters to chip into the party treasurer. I made no such statement, and I again deny, as I did to the reporter, that there was any graft in Georgia, or any pressure brought to bear by the Organization on any person, in office or out, to make contributions to the party.

Atlanta, Ga.

4-12-28

I desire to have the Georgian publish this article, in which I deny every statement credited to me in its article of Thursday afternoon. The facts that I gave the Georgian reporter he did not publish them. I told him that the shortage of Mr. Peterson did not occur as the result of any coercion or solicitation on the part of the Republican Organization in the state, but it occurred since the department had checked his accounts, and found him $244.33 short, for which his removal had been ordered, and that after he was advised that he would be removed, because of the embezzlement of the above stated sum, he embezzled, beginning about the 24th of March, approximately $7,000 of government funds, by reason of fake drafts he had drawn against the Atlanta post office, and collected and converted them to his own use. That all of this occurred since he had been checked short, and this was a complete exoneration of all the charges that he had brought against the party. Instead of the Georgian giving these facts to the public, it gobbled and distorted my statement, and made it appear that I had confessed to graft, which was an injustice to me, and contrary to the facts.

On or after the 24th of March, after Mr. Peterson had been notified that he would be removed from office, he drew a sight draft in favor of himself on the postal savings account and cashed by a local bank for $3,000; on March 30th another draft, payable to himself, for $2,500; on March 31st, the third draft for $1,000. During

this time he misappropriated and converted to his own use $839.50 of other postal funds—total $7,339.50. These facts are in possession of the daily press, and not a single time have they given the public the benefit of these truths.

Since the death of Mr. Peterson his wife has turned over to the government $1,000, which leaves a balance of $6,339.50 due the government, independent of the $244.33 for which he was removed from office. The daily press has these facts in its possession, but it has not disclosed them, but continued to repeat each day that this man was driven to death and murder by reason of the Republican Party's policy of oppression and selling post offices.

While our senators were in Congress upholding the honesty and integrity of Mr. Peterson and declaring that they knew him personally and knew that he was honest, he had in his pocket or possession $7,339.50 embezzled from the government after he had been notified that his services were at an end. And these facts were a complete repudiation of any letter he may have written his brother, or anybody else, that the Republican Party had extorted money from him. His crime was greater after he had been caught than before he was caught, and it looked more like an effort to provide for his family, after he had made up his mind to commit murder and suicide than it looks like the policy of the Republican Party to extort money from him for graft.

Mr. Peterson was a Democrat, appointed by a Democratic President, and a Democratic congressman has kept him in office under two Republican administrations, as a courtesy on account of the office being the congressman's home office, and he has never paid a cent to the Republican Organization for retention in office.

The matter of Mrs. Sallie P. Lang, we know nothing about. That happened under a lily-white chairman, if it happened at all, during the Phillips administration back in 1923 when the present organization was not in power and when the regular organization was not recognized, and the lily-whites were in the saddle. We doubt that it ever occurred at all.

As to the Americus matter, we know nothing about it. When Professor Mathis said that he bid $250 for the carrier's place, he, himself, violated the law, and I do not know with whom he put up the money, or who offered to put it over. And when he said the "flunkey" who did not pass the examination got the job, he reflects upon the administration and misstates the facts; and if he has reference to the appointment of the rural carrier in Americus, possibly a month ago, I can say this, that the man who was appointed was first on the eligible list and had military preference. And this only emphasizes the willingness of the daily press to make out a case against the Republican Party in general and the Negro in particular.

These are the facts and the public is entitled to the truth, and if you care to publish it, I ask that it be done as a matter of justice to me and my party.

Very respectfully,

B. J. DAVIS,

Secretary of the Republican State Central Committee of Georgia.

[illegible] Ga. Journal-Herald
Thursday April 5, 1928

BEN DAVIS' SIDE OF CASE ASKED

ATLANTA, Ga., April 5 (AP)—Ben Davis, negro National Committeeman for the Republican party in Georgia, today announced he had received a letter from Postmaster General Harry New regarding alleged extortion of money from Democratic postmasters in this state.

New asked Davis to forward to him information regarding the allegations of L. S. Peterson, of Douglas, Ga., who committed suicide and blamed the need on financial straits which he said had been caused by his being forced to contribute large sums of money to Republicans. Davis was asked to investigate whether Peterson's donations had been solicited and if not "under what circumstances they had been made."

Davis declared that Peterson had contributed only $50 to Republican funds and that the money had been given voluntarily.

New inclosed with the letter to Davis, excerpts from speeches by Southern Congressmen and Senators commenting on the Peterson case.

LETTERS FIGURE IN DOUGLAS CASE

DOUGLAS, Ga. April 5 (AP)—Mrs. L. S. Peterson, widow of the postmaster here who shot his money order clerk, J. E. Kirkland, and then killed himself last Sunday Morning, today made public the unsigned letter which was found on his body and also a letter which she found among his personal effects during a search Wednesday This letter was carefully sealed and marked "personal." When opened the envelope was found to contain a letter from Mrs. Sallie P. Lang, Postmistress at White Oak, Ga., dated February 6, 1923, and disclosing that $100 was demanded of her in order that she might receive re-appointment, and when she refused to pay, she failed to retain her post.

The first letter's envelope was stamped "Ocilla, Ga., September 5 10:30 a. m. 1927." and bore the address: "Mr. L. S. Peterson, Douglas Georgia."

"Personal."

The envelope and the letter are now in the possession of J. H. Peterson, brother of the deposed postmaster-suicide. An exact copy of the type written letter follows:

"Ocilla, Ga., Sept. 3, 1927.

"Mr. L. S Peterson,

"Douglas, Ga.

"Dear Sir: The Republican State Central Committee is trying to raise some funds for their national committeeman, B. J. Davis Atlanta Ga. and if you are in position to help and are inclined to do so, the same will be appreciated. Send your contribution to Mr. R. H Johnson, Ocilla, Ga., and you will receive receipt for same.

"Thanking you in advance for whatever assistance you may render, we are

Yours truly."

A copy of Mrs. Lang's letter, which was marked "personal," and addressed to "Postmaster at Douglas in part said:

"Postmaster, Douglas, Ga.

"Dear Sir: I trust that you may pardon me for writing you for information which I deem may be of great service to me in my fight to retain my postoffice at this place against the graft of some of those who seem to be directing such affairs here in Georgia. I noted in the paper that you had been reappointed postmaster at Douglas after I had been told by some of Mr. J. F. Overstreet's relatives that his son, A. Overstreet, was to be appointed, besides the paper stated that you were appointed over him, although he was republican, and you a Democrat. I could scarcely believe this, knowing what a time I am having and my opponent a Democrat. But when I make a little further explanation you may be able to understand my situation.

"Last April my office was advanced to a third class, immediately I circulated a petition among my patrons and every one who was approached signed and seemed anxious for me to be re-appointed. Which I am satisfied is the case, since more has developed to prove it to be the case. And in the mean time, before the examination was held and after, for that matter, all of the Republicans, official and otherwise, took the matter up with the Republican Committee of Georgia recommending my re-appointment and with everyone else whom it seemed at all necessary. I passed the examination O. K and made 95 per cent in business qualifications, which you see at least classed me as competent.

"I just wish I could know what to do to defeat such doings and injustice as they have tried to work against me just for the sum of $100 which they had no right to ask of me or any one else. If it is possible for you to give me work of assistance or advise me how to proceed in the matter I will greatly appreciate your interest and kindness. Feeling that you must know to have been able to have defeated Mr. Overstreet's son, makes me appeal to you. Please pardon me for taking up so much of your time.

"Sincerely,

Mrs. Sallie P. Lange"

Political – 1928

Illinois.

Office Holding.

Dan Jackson New I. C. C. Member

Dan Jackson, well known in political circles, has been named a member of the Illinois Commerce Commission by Governor Small. Jackson will succeed Ed Wright who is retiring because of ill health. He has been for some time carrying out his duties under a physical strain.

Dan Jackson's appointment becomes effective September 1st and continues until January 1st, when Governor Small goes out of office. Dan Jackson will have a voice in the regulation of rates of utilities companies in this new position.

JACKSON SUCCEEDS EDW. WRIGHT ON COMMERCE BD.

CHICAGO, Illinois, August 29.—Dan Jackson political leader of the South Side, was named a member of the Illinois Commerce Commission by Governor Small yesterday. On September 1 he will succeed Edward H. Wright, who has resigned because of ill health.

Jackson is allied with Oscar De Priest, former alderman and Republican candidate for Congress in the first district.

The appointment of Jackson indicates, that he and De Priest are recognized as the outstanding Negro leaders, in Chicago.

The salary is $7,000 a year.

JACKSON NAMED C. COMMISSIONER OF ILLINOIS

Succeeds Edward H. Wright, Who Has Resigned $7,000 A Year Position

(By the Associated Negro Press)

Chicago, Sept. 4.—After more than a year's illness, Edward H. Wright has resigned as a member of the Illinois Commerce Commission and Daniel MacKee Jackson has been appointed by Governor Len Small to take Wright's place. The position pays $7,000 a year.

Jackson is a former lieutenant of the famous Republican organization built up in Chicago by Wright and others that was split a year and a half ago by Wright's break with William Hale Thompson, at that time running for election as mayor. When Wright refused to support Thompson, the latter and his associates switched their patrongae support to Jackson and he assuemed charge of the Thompson forces in the "black belt" with the title of ward committeeman.

Mr. Jackson is an undertaker and a man of fine training, force, and intelligence. The charge has been made against him that his interests have aligned principally with those of vice and gambling and the daily papers have referred to him as the "King of gamblers." His elevation, therefore, to the commerce commission has a special racial significance, as it exposes the tendency to pick Negroes for representatives positions without regard to their reputation. Jackson has been frequently mentioned in the special crime investigation now being conducted as possible election fraud conspirator.

His appointment is until January 1, when a new administration will take charge of state affairs.

Oscar Depriest is at present an assistant commerce commissioner.

DePriest and Dan Jackson to Face Trial

The Illinois supreme court last Thursday in a decision upheld the legality of the six special grand juries investigating vote frauds and vice in Chicago and the validity of the 107 indictments which they returned against 98 persons, among them Congressman-elect Oscar DePriest of the First congressional district; Dan Jackson, member of the Illinois commerce commission and recent ward committeeman, and other prominent politicians.

The decision of the state supreme court caused Frank J. Loesch, first assistant state's attorney, who was special prosecutor for the six grand juries, to announce that the indictments would be pushed.

Preparations have been started by the state's attorney's office to bring Morris Eller and a number of henchmen to trial for some of the election day crimes last April which ended in the murder of Attorney Octavius Granady, Morris' political opponent for committeeman of the bloody 20th ward. "We expect to have Eller himself on trial soon after the holiday season. We will start the trials of Oscar DePriest, Dan Jackson and other members of the South side ring before another month has passed," Attorney Loesch stated.

Loses Test Case

The ruling of the supreme court came in a test case brought by defense attorneys in behalf of Charles Farrill, a minor politician of the South side. Attorneys went before the supreme court to ask that Farrill, indicted after a probe into campaign funds in the Second and Third wards, be freed on a writ of habeas corpus. They contended that the six special grand juries were illegal, declaring that under Illinois statutes two grand juries cannot sit simultaneously in the same county and that, because a regular jury was in session during the term of each special jury the special juries were invalid.

The high court held the special juries valid in every point. "A special grand jury can be called by the states' attorney or courts any time there is a demand for one in the interest of justice," the court ruled in denying the writ to release Farrill. The supreme court ordered Farrill remanded to the sheriff of Cook county to be held until his trial under the indictment returned by one of the special grand juries.

Political - 1928

Illinois.

Office Holding.

SUN
BALTIMORE, MD

MAY 2 - 1928

Hard Luck.

Negroes in the United States in 1920 numbered a little over 10,400,000, about one-tenth of the population. But as far as representation in the national legislature is concerned, it has been a submerged tenth. There has been no Negro in Congress for many years, despite the fact that the race has a number of men who are certainly as well educated, as able and as honest as the average white Congressman.

Now there seems to be a chance that a Negro will be sent to the House of Representatives. At least one has been nominated in Chicago with the blessing of the Bill Thompson gang. But who is he? Is he a Negro of genuine learning, dignity and reputation? Not he. He is a Bill Thompson politician, one of the gang against which the city of Chicago revolted in the recent election—that is to say, one of the gang that has made Chicago politics a hissing and a byword throughout the world.

Nevertheless, this man, if he actually goes to Congress, will in some sense stand as the representative of the Negro race.

Pretty tough on the Negroes.

STATE
COLUMBIA, S. C.
MAY 8 1928

Northern Negroes Claiming Their Long-Denied Rights.

It is more than a quarter of a century since a Negro has had a seat in Congress. Opportunity is at hand for breaking this long record of vacancy. The veteran congressman, Martin B. Madden, who died suddenly in Washington a few days ago, represented a district in Chicago which, since he entered public life, has become an almost solid Negro district. Even at the time of his last election and despite his long and conspicuous service in the Republican party there was opposition to Mr. Madden being the representative from the First Illinois district, Negroes contending that a member of their race should be the beneficiary of their votes.

Now that the death of Mr. Madden has created a vacancy, no other white Republican has claim upon the post of honor sufficiently strong to offset the demands of the Negroes for representation in congress, and it seems fairly certain a Negro will be elected.

The Harlem section of New York will probably have a Negro in congress before long, and Philadelphia may furnish a third.

This, we think, is entirely as it should be. The Negroes have been voting the Republican ticket for more than a half century; the Republican party has conceded them nothing that a white Republican could possibly get. They have not even had the crumbs first hand. Not once in this long half-century has the Republican party proposed that any district except in the South should have a Negro congressman. Not once have Republican whites offered to cast their votes to reward some member of the Negro race for its long and faithful support of the Republican party.

Now, having the power, Negroes are going to elect their own men to congress. They should really have two representatives, each, from Illinois, Pennsylvania and New York. What white Republican dare stand in their way!

TRANSCRIPT
BOSTON, MASS.
MAY 12 1928

The Negro in Politics

How many white citizens of the United States realize that in the second largest city of the country negro voters actually hold the political balance of power, and may swing a local election one way or another, as they please, and in emergency may powerfully influence a State election? The fact is sufficiently startling as a political phenomenon, and it will be emphasized nationally by the forthcoming election of a negro to Congress, the first time since George H. White of North Carolina, who served in the Fifty-Fifth and Fifty-Sixth Congresses, retired. Following the Civil War, two United States senators and twenty negro representatives had seats in Congress. White, the last of the negro congressmen, retired twenty-seven years ago; and since the present seat of political power of the colored man is now in Chicago, it is interesting to note that the last of the living negro congressmen, John R. Lynch, who served three non-consecutive terms from Mississippi, from 1873 to 1883, is still practicing law in that city, at the age of eighty.

The story of the negro's development as a political force in Chicago runs parallel with the political career of William Hale Thompson, which, with all its amazing episode, has been made possible largely by negro votes. It is told in the current issue of the National Municipal Review by Ralph Johnson Bunche, a colored man now of the Graduate School of Harvard University. Thompson had once been elected alderman from the second ward on the negro vote, and many years later, in 1915, when he became a candidate for mayor, approximately 55,000 negroes were residents of Chicago. Thompson was elected mayor by 10,000 votes over his opponent and served two terms, until 1923. Meantime the negro population had grown tremendously, owing to the war and the influx from the South. In 1919, when Mayor Thompson was re-elected by a plurality of 21,622 in a total city vote of 698,920, his poll in the negro wards was 15,569, against 3323 for his nearest opponent. In 1920 the negro population of Chicago was 109,595; and in 1927, when Thompson defeated Mayor Dever with a plurality of 82,938, the negro strongholds gave Thompson almost 60,000 votes.

The first negro alderman was elected in Chicago in Mayor Thompson's earlier administrations, and Thompson promptly made him floor leader. At the same time three negroes were appointed assistant corporation counsel; and since that time many important offices and hundreds of minor positions have been filled with colored persons, through the appointment or influence of Mayor Thompson. Most of the higher places, Mr. Bunche says, have been filled with trained and capable men. Bishop A. J. Carey, for example, is a member of the Chicago Civil Service Commission, and Assistant Corporation Counsel P. B. Prescott represents the city in suits involving millions of dollars annually. Not all the appointments are made from the predominantly negro wards. In the State Government one negro senator and four representatives have been elected, and several colored men are in the State commissions, one, the Illinois Industrial Board, which controls the workingmen's compensation awards.

Mr. Bunche does not moralize over the peculiar governmental conditions in which his race figures so conspicuously. It is often disputed, he says, whether the quality of the negro representatives is of the best, the negro confidence is often abused, political exploitation of ignorance in the racial group is not unknown, nor have the negro leaders always been able and true. The author does, aver, however, that the negro electorate is more intelligently and ably represented than ever before in the history of the city; and he adds significantly that, even in the South, the condition which disfranchises the negro "cannot continue indefinitely." His hope must lie, however, in the development of capable political leaders.

GLOBE-DEMOCRAT
ST. LOUIS, MO.
MAY 15 1928

COLORED RACE IN CONGRESS.

A Negro has been nominated for Congress to succeed the late Martin B. Madden in a Chicago district and if he is elected he will be the first colored man to sit in either house at Washington in twenty-seven years. The last colored Congressman was George H. White of North Carolina, who served in the House from 1897 to 1901.

But two men of Negro descent have ever been members of the federal Senate. The first was Hiram R. Revells, born in North Carolina in 1822, who was educated at Knox College in Illinois and became a Methodist preacher, ministering to his own people in various parts of the North. He assisted in recruiting colored regiments during the civil war and went to the front as a chaplain. He later settled at Natchez, Miss., and had been a municipal officer of that town and a state legislator when elected a federal Senator in 1870.

The second Negro Senator was Blanche Kelso Bruce, described as one of the most remarkable men of his race and of a personal bearing recalling the figure of an old Roman Senator done in light bronze. He was born a slave in Virginia in 1841, was educated with the son of his master and studied at Oberlin College. He settled in Mississippi after the war and in 1875 became a colleague of Revelis in the Senate, being then only 34 and making a decided impression. However, as register of the Treasury, he passed the final years of his life at the head of a mere clerical bureau in a Washington department, though often in demand as a speaker at gatherings of his race.

Between the close of the war and the beginning of the present century every one of the states of the Old South, except Texas, was represented at one time or another by a Negro in one house, and Mississippi in both houses. In all, twenty-three Negroes sat in Congress, twenty-one of them in the House, though it is now many years since any opportunity has been presented in that section for the election of further members of the race. It is significant that since the well known conditions that enabled Negroes to obtain these honors in the South disappeared, conditions that seemed to bar them in the North underwent a change. Because of the notable migration since the end of the late war, there are several Northern districts in which action along racial lines might make the election of Negro Representatives easily possible in almost any year.

EVERY EVENING
WILMINGTON, DEL.

MAY 1 - 1928

NEGRO LOOMS AGAIN IN G. O. P. AFFAIRS.

It has been many years since the Negro has figured in National politics except to vote the Republican ticket, back the candidates of party bosses at national conventions and go home contented at the recognition accorded the race. Just now, however, he is looming large on the political horizon, one as the possible successor of the late Congressman Madden of Chicago, while another has defeated Senator Fess of Ohio for delegate to the national convention. The triumph of the latter must be especially humiliating to the Ohio member of the upper house, inasmuch as he had already been designated to make the keynote speech at the Republican national convention—to tell the other delegates what good Republicanism is and along what lines the battle for the Presidency is to be fought.

Such a plight as Senator Fess finds himself in rarely comes to a leader of his party who has been designated as a bell wether of voters. To be turned down by one of the colored brethren doubtless will bring tears to the eyes of all Ohio leaders. It is recalled that Fess is a "draft Coolidge" radical and his defeat perhaps may be taken further to indicate that Ohioans are convinced that the country has had enough of Coolidge or they may have, by their vote, repudiated Fess and turned to the Negro rival as a sane and safer leader.

The announcement that a Negro is the strongest candidate in sight for Representative Madden's seat has given Chicago G. O. P. leaders another shock, following so closely as it does the overthrow of the Thompson-Small machine at the recent election. There seems to be no objection to the colored aspirant for the Madden seat except the sable hue of his skin, and if he is elected—as he is likely to be—he will be the first Negro from a northern state to sit in Congress. It is evident that the voters of Chicago are determined to rebuke the lawlessness and corruption that has brought such disgrace on the city and are ready to turn to an honest man, irrespective of color, in the emergency.

It has been many years since the Negro has had a representative in either house of Congress. Blanchard K. Bruce of Mississippi, a quadroon or octoroon, came into the Senate in the reconstruction period, and there were two or three Negro representatives in the lower house, all elected from the far south states. Senator Bruce made a favorable impression among his white conferees and while the others came into the public eye occasionally their service was not marked by any outstanding achievements. Nor were those of the majority of their white conferees.

It perhaps would not be difficult to select a Negro in Ohio who might wear the Senatorial toga more acceptably to the country than has Senator Fess, but Representative Madden's post will be difficult to fill so ably as it has been for almost a quarter of a century.

POST
WASHINGTON, D. C.

MAY 3 1928

COLORED MEN IN CONGRESS.

For the first time in the twentieth century a colored man is to be elected a member of the House of Representatives. The death of Martin B. Madden last week created a vacancy in the House from the First district of Illinois and the Republican organization of the district has named Oscar de Priest, a colored man, to make the race. In the opinion of those who are familiar with conditions in the district De Priest is certain to be elected.

He will be the first colored man ever sent to Congress from a Northern State. But there is reason to believe that his election will be followed by that of another of his race from New York City at no distant day. Harlem, once the abiding place of the majority of Gotham's Irish-American citizens, is now almost wholly populated by people of colored blood. Should they decide that the time has come when they should be represented in Congress, and this is by no means a remote contingency, they have the power to send one of their own people to Washington.

The first negro to be admitted to a seat in the House of Representatives was Jefferson F. Long, who was seated from the Macon district of Georgia after that State was readmitted to representation in 1870. But Long's term was a very brief one. He was seated on January 16, 1871, and served until the close of the session about seven weeks later. There were five colored men in the House in the Forty-second Congress—Josiah T. Walls, of Florida, and Joseph H. Rainey, Alonzo J. Ransier, Robert B. Elliott and Robert C. De Large, of South Carolina, all of whom, except the latter, were returned to the Forty-third and Forty-fourth Congresses. In the Forty-third there were no fewer than ten men of the race occupying seats in the House, among whom was Capt. "Bob" Smalls, "hero of the steamer Planter," who served in the Forty-third, Forty-fourth, Forty-seventh, Forty-eighth and Forty-ninth Congresses.

South Carolina holds the record for the number of colored men sent to Congress. Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Virginia and North Carolina have had negro representatives. The Old North State was the last to send a colored man. He was George H. White, of Tarboro, elected in 1896 and again two years later. His term expired in March, 1901, and there has been no representative of the race in the House since that day.

Two men of African blood have occupied seats in the Senate, both from Mississippi. Hiram H. Revels, of Natchez, took his seat in February, 1870, and served until March 4, 1871. Four years later Blanche K. Bruce began a term of six years. He was the only colored man who ever served a full term in the Senate.

Twenty colored men have occupied seats in the House of Representatives from Southern States. Now one is to come out of the North.

BEN J. DAVIS SEEKS POWER AGAIN IN GA.

G. O. P. Committee to Hear Contest

Washington, July 6.—A subcommittee of the Republican national committee will be appointed to hear the contest between Benjamin J. Davis of Atlanta and Joseph H. Watson of Albany, Ga., for the national committeemanship for Georgia.

James Francis Burke of Pittsburgh, counsel for the committee, made this announcement following the meeting of the special committee of the national committee here last Thursday. No date was set for the appointment of this subcommittee or for the hearing.

The announcement of this proceedure has given credence to the report that has been circulated since the adjournment of the Republican national convention in Kansas City, June 15. This report is that the party leaders plan a coup to make a white man the national committeeman for Georgia.

Fear of causing a defection in the ranks of voters in the November election, however, makes it unwise to attempt any such move at this time. Postponement of action until after the election will afford the opportunity for the carrying out of this intention without any damaging reaction.

Davis Fooled

The white man who is said to be slated for the post is Joseph T. Rose, collector of internal revenue at Atlanta. Walter Brown, assistant secretary of commerce, who was very active in the Hoover preconvention campaign, is reported to be making a determined fight in behalf of Mr. Rose.

After the meeting of the special committee, Mr. Burke also stated that the election of Mrs. George S. Williams as national committeewoman for Georgia had been ratified by the convention and there is no question regarding her status.

Until a national committeeman is selected for Georgia, Mrs. Williams has been assured by Dr. Hubert Work, the new chairman of the national committee, that all matters pertaining to the Republican party in Georgia would be referred to her. The national committeemanship is [illegible]nt. The term of Mr. Davis ex[illegible] with the meeting of the new [illegible]mittee in Kansas City one hour after the adjournment of the convention.

Mr. Davis bases his claims to the committeemanship on the contention that a majority of the delegates from Georgia were instructed either by the state convention or their district conventions to vote for his reelection. He also claims that there was held no meeting of the Georgia delegation either in Kansas City or anywhere else for the purpose of electing a national committeeman for his state.

Charge Doublecross

Mr. Watson contends that there were no instructions binding on the Georgia delegation. He claims that his supporters completely controlled the only meeting held by the Georgia delegates in Kansas City. He cites the fact that both factions nominated candidates for committee assignments and in each contest the candidate supported by his faction was selected by a vote of 9½ to 6½. Mr. Davis himself was defeated for appointment to the committee on resolutions by Dr. B. W. S. Daniels of Savannah, Ga.

The reason no action was taken at any meeting of the Georgia delegation on the election of a national committeeman, Mr. Watson claims, is that it was a part of the strategy of his faction not to do so. They planned to name the national committeeman from the floor, not knowing the rules regarding the selection of a national committeeman had been changed.

When the names of Mr. Davis and Mr. Watson were presented to the convention, instead of polling the Georgia delegation, the question of the selection of a national committ[illegible] under the rules to the national committee. The national committee at its meeting in Kansas City failed to act. A special committee of 26 was appointed to confer with Mr. Hoover and Senator Curtis, the Republican candidates. This committee was given full power to act on any matter which came before it. It met here last Thursday, but failed to take any action on the Georgia contest. Both Mr. Davis and Mr. Watson were here for the meeting.

Political 1928 — Illinois

Office Holding

"SEN' ME TER CONGRES', KASE I'SE A NIGGER"

Out in Chicago, Chandler Owen has announced for Congress in the Loop District against Martin Madden, who has represented the district in Congress for twenty years to the entire satisfaction of every interest and person concerned, except a few politicians who aspired to the job. Mr. Madden is one of the few statesmen in Congress, and no man in his district can justly find fault with his services, except the fellows who care to exercise their inherent right to aspire to any honor in the gift of their constituents. 1-24-28

Mr. Owen's ambition presents clearly a case of Vanity versus Statesmanship. Nobody denies that he has a right to aspire, but everybody questions the wisdom of him making the race on the sole ground that the Negroes ought to have a representative. Mr. Madden is a national character and in a position not only to serve his immediate district, but the nation in general, and the Negro people in America in particular, and in a way that Mr. Owen could not hope to do, if in Congress.

He is chairman of the all-powerful committee on appropriations in the Lower House that has charge of the apportionment of the government's billions, and can protect the Negro's interest at Howard University and in other ways in a way that Mr. Owen could never do. Ed Wright is the only Negro in Chicago who would be regarded and recognized in Congress as, in any way, filling Martin Madden's shoes.

What could we expect of Mr. Owen, if he put the best in the man on the job, without experience or constructive ability? Verily, like the average Negro, he would spend the major part of his time explaining to the public that he was the only Negro in Congress, and how he got there in spite of the opposition of all the other Negro leaders in Cook County.

Mr. Madden has a record to stand upon to warrant his return to Washington; but what is in the life and service of Mr. Owen to warrant him in asking the people of the First Chicago District to leave Mr. Madden at home, after twenty years of faithful service to his country, and send him to Washington in his stead without a record of having achieved anything for himself, his race or country? What appeal can he make, except, "Kaise I'se a nigger. De rase needs er repersentive in Congres' an' I'se willin' ter be offer'd up fer mah peepul as er livin' sacifise fer $10,000 er yeah."

In wealth, character and respectability the Loop District in Chicago is only excelled by the Wall Street District in New York, and no man should be sent to Congress from any district in America because of race or color, but because of special fitness to serve the people and country. We want race men in Congress, but we want men who have distinguished themselves in some line of business, profession or other walk of life, before they aspire to do something for other people. Our representatives, in common with other representatives, must have special fitness and signal ability in some field of human endeavor, or we would be better off without representation. The man who succeeds Martin Madden from the First Chicago District must be able to, at least, feed and clothe himself, and has stayed in one place long enough to have established citizenship. There must be something outstanding to his credit, really constructive. He must be able to show by his record that he has. at least, been a Republican and believes in Republican policies and principles.

"Kaise I'se a nigger," not appeal enough; "Kaise I'se a white man," is no better ground, and the question of race and color must be eliminated from the equation, and a man must prove that he is able to represent all the people, and all the business, big and little.

It is far better to have a white man in Congress, who can help you, than to have a colored man who can not help you, nor himself.

If Mr. Owen was not a Negro, we would say he is not a Republican, in the light of his record. But, remembering that all Negroes of common sense and self-respect are Republicans, we will not read him out of the party. We know he tried to be a Democrat, Socialist, Communist, Atheist and Bolshevik, but in each of these fields of failure he was working by the job, and just as soon as he saw he was chasing a rainbow, he returned to the party of his fathers, and is asking it, in his vanity and vain glory, to give him a front seat on the band wagon.

Mr. Owen is a nice fellow, brilliant in letters and eloquent in the delivery of platitudes and generalities, but out of touch with the common people, and has not distinguished himself in the art of building up constructive work.

If Chicago wants a race representative, it will be time enough to select him after Mr. Madden has served his day, and then select a man, or men who know the people and their wants, and have the ability to serve them; men who know business, because they have business; men who know the people, because they lived and grew up among the people, serving their interests; men like Ed Wright, Louis Anderson, Dan Jackson, Bishop Carey, Bob Jackson, Oscar DePriest, George Kersey and Judge Albert George.

This editorial is not written out of prejudice to Mr. Chandler Owen's candidacy, because the people of Chicago will take care of that at the proper time, but written in the spirit expressed by one of the greatest statesmen of his day, the Honorable Edward H. Wright, when he said, "that a Negro congressman from Chicago will not be called on only to represent his immediate constituency, but to represent the fourteen million Negroes in America, a burden he did not care to shoulder in his present physical condition."

CHANDLER OWEN BEGINS CAMPAIGN FOR MADDEN'S SEAT

Republican

Chicago, Jan. 5.—(By A. N. P.)—With the organization just about completed, the forces behind the candidacy of Chandler Owen, former editorial writer for the Chicago Bee, and former co-editor of the Messenger Magazine, for United States Representative from the first congressional district of Illinois, have begun a campaign in the district. Mr. Owen's candidacy came close upon the heels of the rumor that Commissioner Edward H. Wright would be candidate for the position which is now held by Martin B. Madden. Mr. Wright has not confirmed the rumor. Mr. Owen is running upon a platform that the district is largely black and should be represented in Congress by a Negro.

Mr. Madden has signified that he will be a candidate to succeed himself, and it is rumored here that the Thompson-Crowe-Galpin organization with which Alderman Robert R. Jackson, and Louis B. Anderson, Ward Committeemen Dan Jackson and Oscar DePriest and George T. Kersey are aligned, will support Mr. Madden.

NEWS
CHICAGO, ILL.

JAN 11 1928

NEGROES TO SEEK MADDEN'S PLACE

Two, Possibly Three, Expected to Enter Race in First District.

A spectacular fight for the republican nomination for congressman from the 1st congressional district was promised today with the announcement that two Negro candidates and possibly three will make the race against Congressman Martin B. Madden. Madden, except for a bitter contest in 1924, when he nosed out his opponent, Nathan S. Taylor, by a slim margin, has retained his seat in the lower house without much opposition for twenty-two consecutive years.

The two contestants definitely declaring themselves in the running at this stage of the campaign are Taylor, a Negro lawyer, and Chandler Owen, well-known Negro author and philosopher. The third likely candidate is Edward H. Wright, Negro member of Gov. Small's state commerce commission, who is expected by his political associates to toss in his hat within the next two weeks. Wright, however, has reserved the right to make a formal declaration one way or another after completion of a canvass now under way.

Campaign Under Way.

Owen, stepping into the fight with the enthusiastic backing of a large number of the younger business men of the 2d and 3d wards, has been the signal for an early beginning of campaign activities. As a leader in bygone campaigns of the better element of the district opposed to machine politics and boss rule he made associations that are now sending a small army of volunteer workers to the Owen banner.

Educated in Columbia university, Owen has earned a national reputation as a writer, particularly on subjects relating to his race. He is co-editor of The Messenger, a magazine published in the interest of the Negro. Until recently he was editor of The Chicago Bee, a weekly newspaper.

According to politicians the danger that threatens Congressman Madden grows out of the desire of part of the Negro population in the district to demonstrate its political importance in Chicago and Illinois by sending to ongress this fall a representative of their own race. The district now is overwhelmingly composed of colored voters, an estimated ratio of nearly five to one. The growth of the Negro population in the so-called "black belt" in the last ten years has been spectacular and rapid.

Stresses Racial Needs.

Owen in campaign speeches and literature is stressing the privilege of the Negro to select his own representatives to congress. He also declares that Congressman Madden, one of the six oldest members of congress in time of service, should be retired in favor of a younger man and one more intimately acquainted with the actual problems of the majority of the voters—the Negroes.

Personally, Madden is popular with all elements of the republicans in his

home precincts. His popularity is demonstrated by the way the people have been sending him to congress at every election since 1904. He has been honored by election by his colleagues to the chairmanships of several of the most important legislative committees.

Politically, Madden will have the support of the Thompson-Crowe-Galpin organization, as far as the leaders are able to control the voters of the district on a racial issue. Wright, whose position in republican politics in the city, is that of a once powerful leader at odds with his organization, will be expected to benefit by what little political strength Gov. Small's henchmen in the district can muster. Regardless of former close political alliances with the political dictators of the 2d and 3d wards, it is figured that because of Wright's break with State's Attorney Crowe and Mayor Thompson, he will have to go along without many of his political friends.

The Wright boom was formally launched at a series of banquets and meetings a month ago. Wright at the time told his constituents he was inclined to become a candidate, but that he desired an expression of the voters before actually getting into the fight. He requested that 10,000 pledge cards be circulated and returned to him signed. More than three times that number have been received at his headquarters, according to his boosters.

"Big Bill" Opens New Jobs, One At $100 A Day

CHICAGO, Ill. (By Carey B. Lewis)—Announcements of new appointments by Mayor William Hale Thompson, "Big Bill", at the Sunday Forum held at the new Second Ward Republican headquarters drew applause from the huge audience assembled which shook the roof.

The new appointments were those of Adolph Simms, as ward superintendent of the Third Ward; and Harvey A. Watson, real estate broker, to be a real estate appraisor for the city at a salary of $100 a day.

These appointments came through Alderman Oscar De Priest, of the Third Ward, Bishop A. J. Carey, Civil Service commissioner, and Van Jackson, Thompson political leader.

Promotions Made

Roscoe Conkling Simmons, president of the Forum announced that the crowd was so great that larger quarters will be secured for ensuing Sunday afternoon programs.

When Bishop Carey took office as Civil Service commissioner, he found nine men and women in city departments who deserved promotions but did not get them under the former democratic administration. Very recently, however, the promotions were made.

Other plums which have fallen recently, include the promotion of Surgeon Scott to be lieutenant of police, making the second colored police lieutenant in Chicago. As soon as either makes the Civil Service grade for captain, appointment awaits them.

Lieutenant Jackson, of Fire Company No. 19, who was recently killed in an automobile accident while responding to a false alarm, was to be notified the following day that he had been promoted to a captaincy.

For Legislature

William Warfield, who saw service in France with the Eighth Regiment, will seek the endorsement of his organization to run for the State Legislature.

Edward D. Green, a leader in the Fourth Ward, is a law librarian in the Corporation Council's office.

It is no secret that the appointment of Mrs. Maudelle Bousfield to the principalship of the Keith School had the okey of De Priest and other political leaders.

Dr. DePriest Speaks . . . . . .

Oscar De Priest, ward committeeman, gave the Forum his reasons for backing the reelection of Martin B. Madden as congressman. Running against Madden will be Chandler Owen. Owen says Madden has been sent to Congress regularly since 1904. Negroes outnumber whites five to one and it's time they send one of the race to Congress.

Two other candidates for Congress may be Edw. H. Wright and Nathan S. Taylor, a lawyer, who nearly beat Madden in 1924.

Politicians say Madden should give way to a younger man.

Dan Jackson praised Mr. Simmons for his succcess with the Forum and announced that Simmons would represent the First Congressional District at the National Republican Convention at Kansas City as a de-

my office. I could take him and run the country."

Hon. Robert S. Abbott, founder and editor of the Defender, was exceedingly happy because of the recognition given to Mr. McGill, whom he regards as a most worthy recipient. In commenting on this appointment he said: "The reason Mr. McGill was personally recommended for this position by State's Attorney Crowe was because he is a man of exceptional ability, having been tried and tested."

GETS POST AS COUNSEL FOR COOK COUNTY

Atty. N. K. M'Gill Will Receive $100 a Day

Because of his excellent legal ability, Attorney Nathan K. McGill, general counselor for The Chicago Defender, the World's Greatest Weekly has been selected as special counsel for Cook county at a salary of $100 a day. It is the first time in history as far as known that a member of our group has been given such an important position in state government.

Telegraph messages and letters from all sections of the country have been literally flowing in to the office of Attorney McGill, congratulating him upon this signal honor.

Attorney McGill was personally recommended to this position by State's Attorney Robert E. Crowe, who has shown every evidence of friendship both during the time when Mr. McGill was an assistant state's attorney and ever thereafter. He will be associated with Capt. Joseph P. Savage, counsel-in-chief, who was a former candidate for county judge.

Following the announcement of the appointment, the many friends of Mr. McGill prevailed upon him, with the support of several foreign language newspapers, to become a candidate for circuit court judge at the April primaries. He declined because of his vast number of duties at The Chicago Defender, which is the biggest and greatest institution of its kind in this country, he says.

Mr. McGill is also secretary for The Chicago Defender, besides being personal attorney for Editor Robert S. Abbott. After having been associated with the late Patrick H. O'Donnell of national and international fame in a case involving over $600,000, Mr. O'Donnell commended Mr. McGill in the following words: "Counselor McGill is worth more than all the lawyers connected with

De Priest Put on Ballot for Madden Seat

BY PARKE BROWN.

Oscar De Priest, Negro leader of the Third ward, was named by the congressional committee of the First district yesterday to succeed the late Martin B. Madden as the Republican nominee for congress from that district.

The action, it was announced, was the unanimous vote of the five ward committeemen—of whom De Priest is one—constituting the committee. They met behind closed doors in one of the rooms of the Thompson-Crowe headquarters, and, although none of the big bosses entered the meeting it was believed that the decision had been dictated by Mayor Thompson.

However, there may be trouble ahead for De Priest in one or more ways, observers said. Those Negro leaders who oppose him challenge the validity of the committee's action, since none of its members has received his credentials from the election commissioners. Assistant Attorney General Harrison announced that if De Priest establishes a right to the nomination, he, Harrison, will run against him as an independent.

Dawson Attacks Action.

William L. Dawson, the leading Negro candidate against Madden in the primary, attacked the right of the committee to act. Its members, Daniel Serritella, First ward; Dan Jackson, Second; De Priest, Third; W. S. Finucane, Eleventh, and John Oberta, Thirteenth, were shown elected ward committeemen on the face of the unofficial returns.

"But the primary proclamation has not been issued by the election board," said Dawson, "and until it has been and their certificates of election have been issued they have no legal authority to act. If my claim to the nomination, based on the fact that Congressman Madden died before the proclamation, is denied, we shall go into court to prevent De Priest's name from appearing on the ballot."

Dawson's claim, it is believed, will be denied. County Judge Jarecki said during the day that there was no merit to his petition.

Harrison Enters Fight.

"If the Dawson petition is denied," said Attorney General Harrison, "and even if we lose the fight to keep De Priest's name off the ballot, we still shall refuse to allow him to win by default. If this great district is to send to congress the first Negro seen there in more than a quarter of a century we have the right to say who that Negro shall be. Our present plan is to run an independent against him, and I am ready to make the race."

De Priest said he was not "worried or excited" by these utterances.

"The law is plain," he said, "and if it becomes necessary the committee will sustain the validity of its action in the courts, going as far as the Supreme court if that is necessary."

De Priest Former Alderman.

De Priest is now 57 years old. He is a large man, not particularly dark, and his hair is liberally streaked with gray. He has served one term as county commissioner and one term as alderman, being the first man of his race to be elected to the latter office.

It was during his term in the city council that he was indicted in connection with the graft scandals under Chief of Police Charles C. Healey. He was charged with receiving something like $3,000 from the owners of vice and gambling dens in the black belt. Several witnesses, including Capt. Stephen K. Healy, turned state's evidence. The defense was that the money turned over to De Priest was for campaign purposes. After seven hours' deliberation a jury acquitted him on June 9, 1917.

He is now in the real estate business, in which he has been engaged since 1909 when he left the county board. His original occupation was that of painter and decorator.

NOMINATED

Oscar De Priest, colored Thompson leader in Third ward, chosen by Republican congressional committee as candidate for representative in congress from First district to succeed the late Martin B. Madden.

[TRIBUNE Photo.]

Political - 1928.

Office Holding.

REPUBLICAN
SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

MAY 5 1928

Negroes in Congress

There is no opposition in the 1st congressional district of Illinois to the demand that the successor of the late Representative Madden shall be a Negro. The district has become overwhelmingly populated by Negroes since the World war and already they have their own Negro representatives in the state Legislature, their own Negro aldermen and several other men of their own race in various offices. A political attitude has developed in the Republican party in Chicago as different as could be from the Democratic attitude toward Negro suffrage in the South. The Chicago Negroes have been encouraged to vote and they have organized under leaders of their own race to be effective as a compact and powerful group.

Accepting the situation gracefully, the Chicago Tribune advises the Negro voters of the 1st district to select as their Washington representative a man of the highest qualifications to be found. It correctly says that, whoever he may be, he will have the eyes of the country upon him. He will be looked upon as the congressional representative of the entire Negro race, not merely of the 1st district of Illinois.

There has been no Negro in Congress since 1901. The time has come when Negro members will appear again. The Harlem district in New York city will soon secure representation in the lower branch of Congress through a Negro, owing to the great concentration of Negroes there in recent years. And these developments need cause no apprehension.

Knickerbocker Press
ALBANY N Y
MAY 1 - 1928

THE NEGRO IN POLI[illegible]CS.

The negro vote in the congressional district in Chicago represented by the late Martin B Madden at any time in the last dozen years has been large enough to elect a member of that race to the house of representatives. Mr. Madden's dominant personality, together with the real services he performed for his constituents and for negroes generally, kept him in office throughout his long career at Washington, but in the last month's primaries his lead was considerably diminished by an organized effort to elect a negro representative. His seat probably will be filled by a negro.

It has been more than a quarter of a century since a negro took his place in the house of representatives, and it is difficult to foresee the consequences of this turn of fortune. There may well be a revival of race feeling, not so much at Washington as throughout the heavily populated negro settlements of America. This single member of their race in congress may inspire others to seek political success until the formation of something akin to a negro bloc could be contemplated. The history of recent negro efforts in the fields of literature and music shows clearly the increasing self consciousness of the black men. They have won to distinction in their own right, and they feel keenly their growing capacities. It would not be unnatural if their race consciousness expressed itself politically as well as culturally.

The country generally will welcome the growth of an intelligent political interest among the negroes. In the senate, where the southerners are kept busy explaining the operations of the franchise laws, the political education of the blacks may not be greeted with unalloyed enthusiasm, but outside the south there will be no feeling of alarm, rather one of satisfaction, as the negro makes progress in still another field.

CHRONICLE
SAN FRANCISCO, CAL
MAY 1 1928

Nation Will Watch Chicago Experiment

IF A NEGRO is chosen, as now seems certain, to fill the vacancy made by the death of Congressman Madden of Illinois, it will mark a distinctively new development in American political history and in the progress of the colored race.

Not that the new negro Congressman will be the first. There have been some score of colored men in the House of Representatives and two in the United States Senate. Both Senators and several of the Representatives were elected from the South during the chaos of the reconstruction period after the Civil War. They were symbols of a military suspension of political institutions in their States. They certainly did not reflect political capacity in their constituencies, which were too lately emerged from slavery to have any. Later a few negro Congressmen were elected from the North merely as political decoys to line up the colored voters for State machines.

When Madden's district sends a negro to Congress it will be on an entirely different basis. It will mark the coming of age, as it were, of a negro constituency. The new Congressman will be the first to sit in his own right as truly representative of his district.

The growth of great colored communities in Northern cities has been almost phenomenal in the past two decades. The Harlem colony in the heart of New York is the most notable example. Numerically it outnumbers the total population of many a regional metropolis. And with numbers it has developed leaders of marked ability in commerce, finance, the professions and the arts.

In Chicago a similar development overran Madden's old district so that in the last primary the veteran Congressman had a negro opponent. Had the negroes voted on racial lines they would have nominated the colored candidate. But they showed fine discretion by responding to the appeal to return Madden because of his experience and his usefulness over a long period in Congress.

Madden's death dramatically ushers in a new experiment. Only the narrowest view of the race problem will wish that his colored constituency will show less of political capacity than it has of abilities in other lines of endeavor that make for progress.

TRIBUNE
CHICAGO, ILL.

MAY 1 1928

LET THE COLORED VOTERS CHOOSE THEIR OWN.

With the death of Representative Martin B. Madden, the First congressional district is left without a congressman and without a Republican candidate for congressman at the fall elections. It devolves upon the governor to call a special election to let the voters of the district choose a representative to fill the actual vacancy, but the selection of a nominee to fill the place on the Republican ticket is left to the congressional committee composed of the Republican committeemen of the five wards in the district.

If the governor obeys the statutes and calls the special election, the voters will pick some one to represent them until next March. But the man who represents the district from March 4, 1929, until March 4, 1931, will—since the district is solidly Republican—be, not the choice of the people, but the choice of the ward committeemen who picked him as Republican candidate.

A movement has been started to rectify this situation. It is being proposed that the congressional committee postpone its choice; that the governor call a special election for June 4, the date of the judicial election; and that the committee accept the representative chosen in June as the Republican candiate to run in November.

The choice of the First district's next representative in congress is of peculiar importance.

Including as it does the greater part of Chicago's heavily populated colored neighborhoods, the district is politically controlled by Negro voters. It is considered a certainty that the district's next representative in Washington will be a Negro, the first to sit in congress for a quarter century.

In the words of a colored leader, Edgar B. Brown, head of a movement to send Negro representatives to congress from Negro districts: "The selection of the man who is to have the nomination for Mr. Madden's seat is of importance not only to our district but to our people throughout the country and to the nation itself, since it may have a decided bearing for or against the solution of the Negro problem."

This is no overstatement. The colored communities of Chicago have their own representatives in the state legislature, their own aldermen in the city council, and men of their own race in several high and many lower official positions. On grounds of strict constitutional justice, they deserve their own choice, regardless of color, in the house of representatives at Washington. But to send a Negro to the general assembly of a northern state or to the council of a northern city is a different matter from sending a Negro to sit at the national capital, where all the states of the Union, southern as well as northern, are represented. The first Negro to go to congress since 1901 will have the eyes of more than his own district, of more than his own people, upon him.

The First congressional district should see to it that the man they select represents the best among the colored people of Chicago.

The congressional committee will be strictly within the law if it disregards the request made upon it to postpone its choice and to choose, when it does choose later, the candidate selected by the voters at the special election. If it uses its legal power and does this, however, it will be acting against the interests of its constituency and will be doing so only to serve its own political ends. The colored voters of the First district should be allowed to choose their own representative in congress, keeping in mind that the man of their choice will not be their representative alone, but will be looked on by the whole nation as the Washington representative of the colored people of the United States.

OSCAR DE PRIEST NAMED TO SUCCEED MADDEN IN CONGRESS

CHICAGO, Ill.—Oscar DePriest, veteran political leader of the second ward, was named by Congressional Committee of the First District, as candidate to succeed the late Martin B. Madden.

Since Madden's death, there has been much conjecture as to what Negro aspirant would be selected. It being a foregone conclusion that a Negro would be named. The naming of DePriest, however, by no means ends the aspirations of other racial candidates.

William L. Dawson, the defeated candidate who opposed Madden in the recent primary, is endeavoring to have the election board issue him a certificate of nomination. His contention is based on the ground that as the nominee died before the certificate of election could be issued, he is legally entitled to it under the law. He states that the board must issue a certificate to some one, and although Madden received the largest vote, the board cannot issue a certificate to a dead man.

Brown Issues Statement

Edgar B. Brown, who styles himself as president of the National Negro for Congress Movement, issued a statement in which he stated that he is endeavoring to get Governor Small to issue a call for a special election for the selection of a successo. to serve the unexpired term of Mr. Madden. He is asking that that election be held on June 4, the date for the election of judges. He then asks the Congressional Committee to name the winner of this contest, the candidate at the November election.

DePriest's Career

Oscar DePriest, real estate dealer, is 57 years of age. He was born in Florance, Ala., March 9, 1871. He was educated in the public schools of Salina, Kansas. He began as a journeyman painted in 1887 and became a painting contractro in Chicago. In 1912, he organized the real estate firm of DePriest and DePriest. He was a member of the Board of Cook County Commissioners, two terms, 1906-10; he was the first Negro member of the Chicago City Council, where he served two terms. He married Miss Jessie Williams, of Rockford, Ill. They have two children.

Mr. DePriest has been a staunch supporter of Mayor William Hale Thompson, who was one of the four committeemen who named him for the congressional nomination. He is considered a fearless politician. His home has been bombed several times during the past few years. As he is very popular among southside voters, his election is practically assured.

SUN

BALTIMORE, MD.

MAY 6 1928

NEGRO AREA RAGES IN CONGRESS RACE

First Illinois District Runs High Temperature As To Who Shall Be Candidate.

MACHINE CHOICE HIT

But Question Is "Which," Not "A," Colored Man—"Intellectuals" Against De Priest.

By DEWEY L. FLEMING.

[*Chicago Bureau of The Sun.*]

Chicago, May 5.—Rarely if ever has the First Illinois Congressional district run such a high political temperature as that which the thermometer shows today. It is a fever occasioned by the schemes and bickerings of the Negroes who populate this district almost exclusively and who are out to send a member of their race to Congress.

If they succeed—and the chances seem greatly in their favor—the candidate elected would be the first colored man ever sent to the nation's legislative halls from Chicago, and the only one from any other city or state in more than a quarter of a century.

Question Of "Which" Negro.

But it is not the mere matter of electing "a" Negro that has thrown the "black belt" into turmoil and confusion, while other districts are enjoying a pre-convention rest. That would be comparatively easy of accomplishment in this district, where the vote is eighty per cent. Negro and nearly eighty per cent. Republican. It is the question of "the" Negro, or, more specifically, "which" Negro, that has thrown Grand Boulevard and its environs into uproar.

The machine, dominated by Thompson-Crowe leadership, says Oscar De Priest, a former Cook County Commissioner and Chicago Alderman, is the man who should go to Washington in the place of Martin B. Madden, veteran chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, who died last week. But certain of the district's "intellectuals," fresh from colleges and universities and imbued with theories for advancement of the race, say De Priest is not at all the man. They prefer William M. Harrison, Assistant Attorney-General of Illinois, or as second choice, William L. Dawson, leading candidate against Mr. Madden in the April primary.

De Priest Held Least Desirable.

De Priest, these fellows say, is typical of the old time Negro politician who brings discredit upon his race. He stands for what is least desirable, they argue, looks backward instead of forward, and is not the kind of man they would like to have as the first to represent a Chicago district.

Moreover, they add, the former alderman is an uneducated man and has a record that is not any too savory.

Both Harrison and Dawson, on the other hand, are men who have brought credit to the Negro race, these men continue. Both have achieved considerable note and success as practicing attorneys, Harrison having become Assistant Attorney-General of the State.

Plan To Head Off De Priest.

In an attempt to head off the De Priest candidacy, the intellectuals, with Dawson in the lead, have attacked the right of the Congressional Committee to choose De Priest and ram him down the throats of the voters. This committee, it is argued, acted before its members received their certificates of election, and, therefore, illegally. Dawson, as the runner-up, therefore claims the nomination on the ground that Mr. Madden died before the election board issued certificates.

If this plan fails, the progressive element threatens to run an independent candidate against De Priest in their determination to defeat him. Already they are rallying around Harrison as the independent candidate, and the Assistant Attorney-General says he is willing to make the race.

Just one thing is bothering the Negroes in their plans to send one of their race to Washington. That is the fear that a colored man, particularly if De Priest should be the man, could not get the generous patronage for the First district that Mr. Madden controlled during his many years in Congress. Mr. Madden was a remarkably good provider for his district and hundreds of Negro letter carriers and other Federal employes here in Chicago and in Washington owe their jobs to him.

CHICAGO, ILL.

Post

MAY 9 1928

NEGROES ACCEPT THE CHALLENGE

The machine selection of a successor to the late Congressman Madden is not to go unchallenged. The decent Negro citizenship of the 1st district will not support Oscar DePriest. Out of the ranks of regular Republicanism they have chosen a man of their race in whose capacity to represent it with dignity and ability they have high confidence.

Assistant Attorney General William H. Harrison has been persuaded to enter the contest as an independent Republican. In his own community he is an outstanding man, a leader of his people in those interests and activities which make for what is best in American life. Attorney General Carlstrom appointed him as an assistant because of the high qualifications he displayed as a clear thinker and an eloquent speaker.

Mr. Harrison was reluctant to take the step which crosses the line of party regularity, but he recognized the emergency as one which demanded sacrifice. In the election of the first Negro congressman in a quarter of a century his race is put on trial. It will be judged by the leadership which it follows. Not alone Chicago, but the country as a whole, will estimate the progress which it has made by the type of representation it chooses for conspicuous office. These considerations forcibly brought to his attention induced William H. Harrison to declare himself a candidate.

It will take a strong and united effort to elect him, but it can be done, and it should be done. Many doubt the ability of the Negro voters of the 1st district to resist the attempts which will be made to divide them, to beguile them from the man of their own choice. This is their opportunity to prove that they are not the playthings of politicians which they are said to be; but that they have both political intelligence and self-respect. The defeat of DePriest would entitle them to the respect of the country.

Former Galveston Citizen Given Big Job In Chicago PO

Chicago, Ill.—Among one of the recent appointments made in one of Chicago's largest sub-postoffice stations, was that of J. H. DeBruhl to the position of foreman of Armour station, 3017 Inliana Ave. The appointment was made by W. C. Fyle (white), superintendent of the station, who recognized in Mr. DeBruhl his intelligence, capability, faithfulness and integrity, which fit him to act in the capacity as his assistant.

Mr. DeBruhl is of an affable, well-pleasing disposition and well-beloved by all of his coworkers. The appointment had the sanction of D. B. Hawley, (colored) assstant superintendent of the same station. Mr. Hawley was appointed to his post at Armour station a year ago. He is the first race man to be appointed to such a position.

Mr. DeBruhl was born in Galveston, Texas and came to Chicago when he was a mere lad. His father, John DeBruhl, was one of Texas' prominent citizens, having held prominent positions, both local and federal. In the earlier days, Mr. DeBruhl's father was elected to positions as judge and alderman. He was closely associated with the late Norris Wright Cuney, and was a staunch friend of William M. McDonald, race banker of Fort Worth, Texas and Nat Q. Henderson, principal of one of Houston's public schools. Mr. DeBruhl's mother, brothers and relatives reside in Galveston.

The late Martin B. Madden, U. S. congressman from Chicago was Mr. DeBruhl's greatest friend and always spoke of him as "my boy."

Political - 1928
Office Holding

Illinois.

Negro Chosen As Successor To Madden

Republican Leaders Say Nominee Is Certain of Election.

Chicago, May 1.—(AP)—Oscar de Priest, negro, former Chicago alderman, today was selected to replace the deceased Martin B. Madden as the republican nominee for representative in congress from the first Illinois district. If elected, which politicians say seems certain, he would be the first negro congressman since 1901.

The first district, represented by the late "watchdog of the treasury" 12 consecutive years, is predominantly negro in population and Mr. Madden won his thirteenth nomination three weeks ago only after his friends fought strenuously against the selection of a negro.

Selection of De Priest was made by the republican ward committeemen whose wards lie within the boundaries of the first congressional district on Chicago's south side. It was unanimous.

Interesting News From Chicago

Chicago, April 16.—Roscoe Conkling Simmons, who led the battle for the renomination of Martin B. Madden for Congress, and regarded as field marshal of the invincible Jackson, DePriest organization, being president of the Second Ward organization, issued the following statement:

"Lest the wrong impression regarding the recent Illinois election be created, these few words are in order. Though depressed by the failure of some of his friends to deliver from their end, William Hale Thompson may boast the loyalty of true and tried friends in the contest and point to their own sweeping victory.

"The incomparable South Side remains intact, and therefore, the backbone of the Chicago Republican organization is still unbent. Both Daniel M. Jackson and Oscar DePriest, Thompson leaders, were elected ward committeemen. With them the Thompson committeemen in the First, Fourth and Fifth Wards were victorious.

"Martin B. Madden was renominated by the largest majority he has had in ten years. I supported him because being myself a victim of the Democratic Party's cry of "race," I was unwilling to join in such a cry from my side of the fence. Race and color have no place in American politics. What a man is and not what he looks like, ought to be his measure. What eventually we shall have from Chicago is not a Negro congressman but rather and so much better, one who is a congressman though a Negro.

"In addition to nominating the two regulars for the legislature from the first district, Harris B. Gaines and George W. Blackwell and two in the third, George T. Kersey and William E. King, we added another to the list, Captain William Warfield of the fifth district, the University of Chicago district. This gives us five members of the lower house and one member of the Senate of Illinois, Adelbert H. Roberts.

Four to Kansas City

"And more. We elected a colored member of the Republican state committee from the first congressional district, Harry D. Lewis.

"Further, the delegation to the Republican National Convention at Kansas City from the first district, the richest in the United States, will be composed of four colored Republicans, Daniel M. Jackson, Roscoe Conklin Simmons, alternate; Oscar DePriest, Alderman R. R. Jackson, alternate. This is history, for no such delegation has ever before represented a district in a Republican state or in any state on the bright side of the Ohio.

NEGRO CLAIMS MADDEN'S SEAT

Chicagoan Says Office Is His Since Deceased Solon Had Not Filed Poll Papers at Death.

Chicago, April 28.—(AP)—Selection of a negro to replace Martin Madden, "watchdog of the treasury," as representative for the first congressional district of Illinois, seemed increasingly probable tonight.

The choice of a candidate whose name would supplant that of Madden on the November ballot is a matter for the district committee of the republican party, it was declared by the election commissioners, held today.

This body would be the ward committeemen for the five south side wards in the first congressional district.

Once Exclusive Section.

In other days this district was one of homes of Chicago's financial and social leaders. During the world war and after the character of the district and some of the districts to the north caught the fancy of those then living in the first district. With their exit came the negro population.

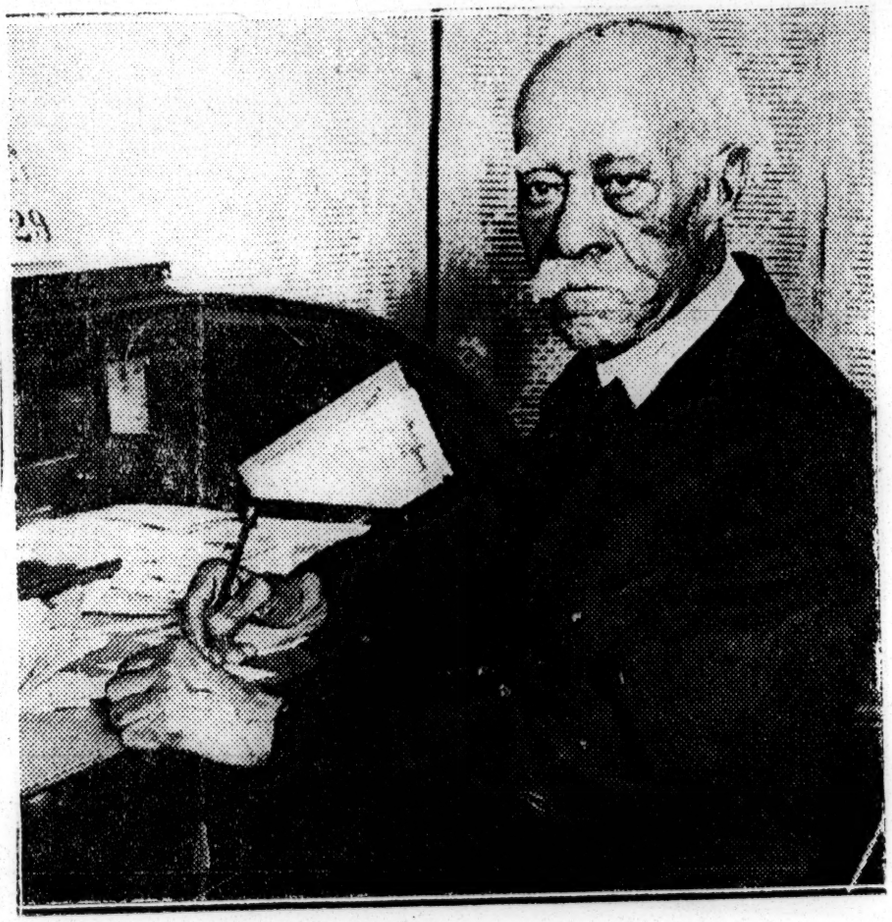
Two of the committeemen are negroes. A third is John ("Dingbat") Oberta, reputed gangster, chosen committeeman at the April 10 primary which also saw him nominated for the state general assembly.

Mr. Madden, in a predominantly negro district, won his twelfth renomination only after Mayor William Hale Thompson and other white leaders had waged a strenuous contest in his behalf.

Now, however, Madden's defeated negro opponent, W. L. Dawson, and several other negroes have been thrust forward.

Dawson, who was a candidate on the ticket sponsored by United States Senator Charles S. Deneen, has laid claim to the nomination, since the certificate of nomination had not been issued to Madden before he died.

Dawson would be the first negro to sit in congress since 1896. George W. Murray, South Carolina, was elected to the house in 1893 and served for three years. Blanche K. Bruce, Mississippi, served in the senate from 1875 to 1881. Altogether 20 negroes have sat in the house and two in the senate.



(TRIBUNE Photo.)

COLORED FORMER CONGRESSMAN A CHICAGOAN.

Maj. John R. Lynch, who served three terms as Mississippi representative, now living at 4028 South Park way.

JOURNAL
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN
MAY 4 - 1928

A Negro for Congress

OSCAR DE PRIEST, a Negro, has been placed on the Republican ballot as nominee for Congress in the First Illinois District, represented in the House for a quarter century by the late MARTIN B. MADDEN. If elected, he will be the first Negro sent to Congress from any State in more than thirty years.

The color of OSCAR DE PRIEST'S skin in no way affects his fitness to represent his District in Congress. The majority of the residents of that District are Negroes. That they should be represented in the House by a member of their own race is entirely reasonable and just.

But there now comes from Chicago the news that OSCAR DE PRIEST may not be elected, even though he is a Republican nominee in a Republican District, and a Negro nominee in a Negro District.

The opposition does not come from the whites. The objection to DE PRIEST comes from the better class of Negroes themselves. They are threatening to support as an independent, another Negro political leader, now an Assistant Attorney General. It is not the darkness of DE PRIEST'S skin that motivates them to oppose him, say these Negroes, but the

darkness of his record. They insist that the first Negro to sit in Congress in a third of a century should be one who can be counted upon to be a credit to his race.

There are numerous reasons why Congress has been without a Negro member for a generation. One is the wholesale disfranchisement of the race in the Southern States. Another is the unfortunate fact that the white carpetbaggers and scalawags of the Reconstruction era all too frequently picked for political preferment Negroes of a type that did bring discredit to the black race.

Intelligent Negro leaders of the First Illinois District know that. And they also know that DE PRIEST, who was the first Negro Alderman ever elected in Chicago, was mixed up in political scandals that did the race harm. Indicted on a charge of collecting thousands of dollars from vice dens in the Black Belt, he was acquitted only because he convinced the jury that the money did not go into his own pocket, but was used for campaign expenses.

DE PRIEST'S foes within his own race naturally want to see a Negro sitting in Congress. But they do not care to see DE PRIEST sitting in Congress. And they seem to be planning a fight to keep him out, even though the split might enable the Democratic politicians of the Hinky Dink school, controlling the north end of the District, to slip a white First Warder into the vacant Madden seat.

NAME GOES ON BALLOT FOR FALL VOTING

Unanimous Choice of Party Leaders

Oscar DePriest, astute political leader and the first member of the Race to be elected alderman in Chicago, has been named to succeed the late Congressman Martin B. Madden on the Republican ticket. The action, at which Mr. DePriest was nominated, took place Tuesday afternoon behind closed doors in the city hall, and followed accurately the information which had already gained headway in Chicago.

As the unanimous choice of the congressional nominating committee, composed of five ward committeemen in the First congressional district of Illinois, Mr. DePriest's name will go on the ticket to replace that of Mr. Madden, who was nominated in April to make the run in November.

First in 27 Years

And since nomination in the First district is almost the equivalent of election, it appears very strongly now that Oscar DePriest will be the next congressman from this district—the first member of the Race to be elected to the national body in 27 years. In his selection, he received all of the votes of the committee, in which five wards are interested. Three of the wards, the First, 11th and 13th, are represented by white men. The First district is made of the First, Second, Third, 11th and 13th wards, and the committeemen of these wards comprise the committee which is empowered by law to name the nominee in this case. They are Daniel Serritella, First; Daniel Jackson, Second; Oscar DePriest, Third; W. S. Finucane, 11th and John Oberta, 13th.

The career of Oscar DePriest is very much parallel to that of the man he is to succeed. Born in Florence, Ala., in 1871, he was taken to Salina, Kan., by his parents, where he attended the public schools. In 1889 he came to Chicago and six years later entered business for himself, following the painting and decorating trade, for which he received training in Kansas. In 1912 he was elected alderman from the Second ward.

Lifetime Partnership

He had already met Congressman Madden, and the friendship started when both of them were young and ripened into almost a partnership which lasted throughout Mr. Madden's life. When the First district was more than two-thirds white, Mr. DePriest campaigned for Mr. Madden, and his selection at this time fills a wish often expressed by the late congressman that his friend succeed him.

When DePriest enters congress next March he will be going where his race has not set foot since the late George H. White walked out more than quarter of a century ago. Mr. White, who represented a district in North Carolina in the 55th and 56th congresses, died a few years ago in Philadelphia. Two other persons who have sat in congress are still alive. One of them, Major John R. Lynch, who served in the 43d, 44th and 47th congresses from Mississippi, is a patent expert in Chicago. Thomas H. Miller, who represented South Carolina in the 51st congress, now resides in Philadelphia.

CHICAGO NEGRO SURE TO REPLACE MADDEN

Better Element Fearful Lest Wrong Man Be Selected to Go to Congress.

INDEPENDENTS IN FIELD

Backers of World's Fair Project Bar Appeals for Public Funds, Plan Prompt Opening.

By S. J. DUNCAN-CLARK.

Editorial Correspondence of THE NEW YORK TIMES.

CHICAGO, May 2.—The First Congressional District of Illinois, which was represented so long by the late Martin B. Madden, is going to send a negro to Washington to fill his vacant seat. That fact tells the story of what has been happening in the last twenty years to a section of Chicago which at one time was marked by the homes of wealth and fashion.

The First District is today the wealthiest district in the United States with one exception—that in which nestles Wall Street, New York. But its wealth lies not in its homes. In this district is the Chicago Loop with its multiplying skyscrapers, its great financial institutions and department stores; in this district, bordering the Loop, are the Art Institute, the Field Museum, the site of the new opera house, two big railroad terminals and the stretch of Michigan Avenue known as "automobile row." South of the Loop begins the so-called "black belt," extending down into the region known as Hyde Park, where the University of Chicago spreads its campus and adds one structure after another to its group of impressive and beautiful buildings.

Congressman Madden's district, however, ends before Hyde Park is reached. That neighborhood of learning is represented in Congress by Morton D. Hull, together with much adjacent territory. But the State Senatorial district in which the university is situated has nominated a negro for one of its legislative representatives, and his election is a certainty.

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District Is Thickly Populated.

There are probably 120,000 negroes in this region, and perhaps one-half of that number in the First District. The ambition for Congressional representation by one of their own race has been growing for some time. They are so represented in the City Council. They opposed Mr. Madden in the recent primary with a negro candidate, but he was able to hold his own on the basis of his long service and popularity. Many negro voters supported him with the mental reservation that this would be the last time. His age pointed to his retirement after one more term. Death occasioned it sooner than was expected.

That unhappy incident has thrown the negro population of the district into a tumult of political excitement. There are men of high intelligence and fine ideals among the leaders of this community, and there are men who have all the worst traits developed by corrupt politics. Among the former great fear exists that a negro may be named to take the place of Martin B. Madden who will discredit their race. They look upon the situation as one of extraordinary opportunity to honor their color in the eyes of the nation.

They recognize that the successor of Representative Madden will step into a gap where, whatever his color, he must be conspicuous because of the standard of representation established by the late Congressman. If he should be a negro, and that is almost beyond question, he will be doubly conspicuous. If he is a negro of the wrong type he will be a conspicuous failure.

The Ward Committeemen have nominated a former Negro Alderman, Oscar de Priest, whose public record is not satisfactory to the higher class of negroes in the district. Others have therefore announced against him, with the possibility that the negro vote may be split widely enough again to let a white Congressman through the gap. But unless some such selfish eventuality of politics as this prostrates their hope, a negro will sit in Congress from the district.

In such event a movement is under way to put an independent Republican negro candidate in the field. The man has been picked who will make the race. His proponents call him a second Booker T. Washington, and credit him with powers of oratory which will make his name famous.

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More Talk of World's Fair.

Now that the primary is out of the way Chicagoans are beginning to talk about the projected World's Fair which is to celebrate the hundreth anniversary of the city's incorporation. The anniversary year is 1933. A committee has been named, has subdivided itself for attention to various departments, and is at work. The general idea of the proposed fair has been formulated, and certain rules have been tentatively adopted to govern its development. Some of these are negative—no appeal to Congress, State Legislature or City Council for appropriations; no souvenir coin, no midway or pike, no delay in opening, no lack of readiness when the opening day arrives.

Science is to be the central idea—what science has achieved for the welfare and progress of mankind. Exhibits are to be of processes rather than commodities.

It is said the first structure will be under way within a year, and is to be a vast amphitheatre, fronting the lake, from which many thousands of people may witness water pageants and spectacles presented on great barges.

Interest and faith in the project have been increased by the result of the primary. Before the political upheaval which that event represented there was a prevalent feeling that unless local government could be greatly improved the world's fair enterprise held possibilities perilous to the city. There are still doubters who recall that the aftermath of the Columbian Exposition was not wholly happy, and who point to the failure of recent extravagant fair projects—notably the dismal sesquicentennial at Philadelphia—as evidence that the day for such undertakings has gone by.

To such croakers answer is made that the vision which Chicago obtained of its possibilities in 1893 was the inspiration of the vast improvements which it has been laboring upon ever since, and that there exists in the city an energy and an ingenuity which can create another world's fair of surpassing interest.

One element of doubt, however, which affects seriously the contemplated plans cannot be answered so readily. It is proposed to construct a series of artificial islands in Lake Michigan east of the south shore and to make each of these the site of some department of the exposition. That cannot be done without the consent of the Federal Government, and when it is recalled how much difficulty and delay have been encountered in reaching agreement with Washington as to the establishing of a shore line and the making of improvements which involve trespass on navigable waters, the question arises whether Chicago can convince the jealous Federal authorities that an artificial archipelago is a desirable addition to the lake.

GETS CITY POST—Clifford James Campbell, Chicago youth, who was appointed last week to the staff of architects for the Chicago board of education. He received his training in Washington, D. C., and Chicago.

Photo by Burton Studio, Chicago.

Political - 1928

Office Holding.

Elect Iowa Attorney to Sanity Commission

Des Moines, Iowa, June 1.—Charles P. Howard, prominent attorney, last Tuesday was appointed Polk county sanity commissioner to fill the vacancy created by the death of J. E. Pendergast. The appointment was made by the six district judges by a unanimous first ballot. The new appointee had the indorsement of the three American Legion posts here, of one of which he is commander. The commission is a semijudicial body with powers to commit and release from state insane institutions. It is made up of a physician, a lawyer and the clerk of the district court.

Political - 1928

Office Holding.

Kansas.

Colored Man Is Made Treasurer In Kansas Town

Wichita, Kans.—(ANP)—As a result of the resignation of Thomas Boyd, county treasurer, who is running for the position as state treasurer, John W. Wright, first deputy county treasurer, has been made treasurer.

Mr. Wright is one of the outstanding colored men of Shawnee County. Thirty-six years ago he was appointed deputy county clerk under John M. Brown and later was elected twice as county clerk. Twenty-five years ago, he became a deputy in the county treasurer's office and with the exception of two years as city clerk and six months as Y. M. C. A. secretary during the war, he has been in the county treasurer's office continuously. Mr. Wright was born in Michigan and educated in Douglas County. He came to Topeka in 1888 and taught school before beginning his service for the county.

MADE COUNTY TREASURER IN KANSAS

WICHITA, Kan., Oct. 31.—(By A. N. P.)—As a result of the resignation of Thomas Boyd, county treasurer, who is running for the position as state treasurer, John W. Wright, first deputy county treasurer, has been made treasurer.

Mr. Wright is one of the outstanding colored men of Shawnee County. Thirty-six years ago he was appointed deputy county clerk under John M. Brown and later was elected twice as county clerk. Twenty-five years ago, he became a deputy in the county treasurer's office and with the exception of two years as city clerk and six months as Y. M. C. A. secretary during the war, he has been in the county treasurer's office continuously. Mr. Wright was born in Michigan and educated in Douglas County. He came to Topeka in 1888 and taught school before beginning his service for the county.

Political-1928

Kentucky.

Office Holding.

HERALD-POST
LOUISVILLE, KY.

MAY 29 1928

NEGRO DOCTOR GETS JOB BACK

Last of three members of the Republican city and county committee to lose their jobs because they voted for Harry A. Volz for chairman of the committee against the wish of Mayor Harrison, who favored the re-election of Charles G. Middleton, was restored to duty Tuesday after the Board of Safety Monday afternoon reinstated Dr. P. N. Peters, Negro, assigned to the city health department.

The other two members of the committee who voted against Mayor Harrison's choice for chairman, and who have been restored to duty, are Charles V. Mehler, first assistant city engineer, and W. K. VanArsdale, assistant electrical inspector. Capt. Hauler, in charge of the bureau of identification in the police department, was discharged at the same time of the others, but his release had nothing to do with the action of the committee, it was said, since he is not a member of the committee.

Political - 1928

Liberia (Africa)

Office Holding.

New Financial Adviser Is Named For Liberia

Washington, D. C.—In accordance with terms of the 1926 loan agreement between the United States and Liberia, President Coolidge has recommended the appointment of John Loomis of Strasburg, Va., as financial advisor to the African Republic to succeed Sidney de La Rue, resigned.

The Liberian Government has accepted the recommendation, according to cabled press dispatches.

The loan agreement between Liberia, the Finance Corporation of America and the National City Bank of New York, fiscal agents, provides that a financial adviser is to be designated by the President of the United States to the President of Liberia, and, subject to Liberian approval, appointed to that office.

NEW FINANCIAL ADVISER IS NAMED FOR LIBERIA

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Political - 1928

Office Holding

Louisiana

WHITES AFTER COHEN'S JOB

Seek to Have Him Ousted as Customs Comptroller

NEW ORLEANS, La.—The visit of Emile Kuntz, national committeeman for Louisiana, and M. E. Norman, Alexandria, to the Republican headquarters in Washington, has the semblance of the replacement of Walter L. Cohen in the customs office.

While no information was available at the Republican headquarters here it was understood that the conferences will relate to the appointment of a successor to Walter L. Cohen, who is slated to be dropped by the treasury department following his attempt to set up an irregular organization in Louisiana. James L. Hgigins, appraiser of customs, may be affected by the changes, it was understood. Higgins, a holdover appointee, was a supporter of Cohen in his fight against the regular organization Other minor appointments are said to be involved at the present time.

NEGRO WINS IN FACTIONAL ROW

Louisiana Republicans At Odds Over Delegates

NEW ORLEANS, May 2.—(AP)—An injunction to restrain Walter L. Cohen, negro comptroller of customs at New Orleans, and a number of his supporters from naming delegates to the Republican national convention was denied by Judge Walter L. Gleason, in civil district court here today.

The suit was instituted by M. E. Norman, chairman of the Republican state committee.

Attorneys for Cohen argued that the court was without jurisdiction to issue an injunction against members of a political faction when they were not exercising a special public duty and when no money or property interest was involved.

The Norman faction recently held a convention at Alexandria and elected a slate of delegates to the national convention. Action against Cohen was instituted when he gave notice he and his followers would hold a convention to name delegates.

Judge Denies Injunction Against Negro Politicians

NEW ORLEANS, May 2.—(AP)—An injunction to restrain Walter L. Cohen, negro comptroller of customs at New Orleans, and a number of his supporters from naming delegates to the Republican national convention at Kansas City next month was denied by Judge Walter L. Gleason, in civil district court here today.

The suit was instituted by M. E. Norman, chairman of the Republican state committee. He announced today he would appeal to the Louisiana supreme court from Judge Gleason's decision

COHEN TAKES JOB FIGHT TO HOOVER

NEW ORLEANS, Dec. 26.—Walter Cohen, Comptroller of customs, whose removal has been sounded by the state Republican organization, has made preparation to fight the move to oust him. He is backed in the battle by colored Republicans who are desirous of continuing to hover in the political field of the state.

According to A. O. Cotton, the Caucasian state Republican leader, John C. Suarez, a Caucasian, has been recommended to succeed Cohen and has accepted the post.

The move is seen as a part of the strategy of the Republican party in making itself inviting southern whites who stand aghast because of the colored members. There are 1,800 colored people registered in the total of 3,100 Republicans. There are only two members of the state committee, however, nine colored men having been ousted when absent from a meeting.

Mr. Cohen will take his fight to President-elect Hoover. He was appointed by President Harding. The post has been held by colored people during all Republican administrations except Taft's.

SAYS COHEN TO BE SUPPLANTED BY WHITE MAN

By the Associated Negro Press

New Orleans, La., Dec. 12—According to a statement, made Tuesday by O. A. Cotton, state campaign manager for Herbert Hoover, John C. Suarez, a white man, will be appointed comptroller of customs in New Orleans, to succeed Walter Cohen, who has held the job since the Harding administration.

Cotton stated that he had received assurances from officials in Washington that Suarez would be appointed and commented:

"The appointment will be a new step by the Republican party in the South and will tend to bring about what we have been fighting for so long, white leadership in Republican affairs in this State."

Mr. Cohen stated that he had heard nothing of the contemplated change His term expired in April, and he is now serving until either he is reappointed or his successor named.

Political - 1928

Maryland.

Office Holding

BALTIMORE, MD.

Peck

APR 19 1928

Colored Leaders Insist Upon Two New City Posts

Reported Selection of Briscoe For Law Place Inspires Rhetta's Backers

Despite reports City Solicitor Kraus has selected A. E. Briscoe, colored, for one of his new assistants, the two colored city councilmen and others of their race seeking to have Mayor Broening appoint a colored man to the school board were said today to be insisting on representation on the board.

Political friends of Dr. B. M. Rhetta, colored, are backing him for one of the vacancies on the school board caused by the expiration of the terms of Dr. Frank J. Goodnow, Warren S. Seipp and Theodore E. Straus, who now are holding over until either reappointed or until their successors qualify.

Thousands of men and women, through civic, business and educational organizations, have urged Broening to reappoint Goodnow, Seipp and Straus, who were named on the board by the mayor in his first administration.

Broening has declined publically to announce or indicate his choices for the school posts.

Some time ago it was reported Broening would seek to placate Rhetta's backers by giving the race representation in the law department, but it was indicated the proposed compromise did not prove satisfactory.

Seek Place for Woman

Early in Broening's new term Republican women demanded a place for one of their sex on the city solicitor's staff, but when the appointments were made by Kraus only men were named.

Several weeks ago two new assistants were authorized for the law department and the women renewed their requests for representation.

Reports of the intention of Kraus to name Briscoe have revived the activities of those supporting Goodnow, Seipp and Straus, the fear being expressed the colored politicians may win both the assistant in the law department and a member of their race on the school board.

NEGROES IN UNITED STATES SERVICE
At Close of Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1928

Where Employed	Number*	Total Salaries*
TOTAL—ALL EMPLOYEES	51,882	$64,483,13[illegible]
Alien Property Custodian	16	19,12[illegible]
American Battle Monuments Commission	1	1,200
Capitol	187	184,04[illegible]
Chief Coordinator	1	90[illegible]
Claims Commission (U. S. and Mexico)	2	2,20[illegible]
Congressional Library	69	65,9[illegible]
Department of—		
Agriculture	1,086	907,868
Commerce	686	675,629
Interior	459	473,940
Justice	68	104,720
Labor	92	118,702
Navy	5,427	6,537,278.
State	76	81,360
Treasury	5,407	6,024,499
War	5,914	5,149,488
District of Columbia government	3,674	5,141,807
Federal Board for Vocational Education	11	12,360
Federal Reserve Board	22	24,232
Federal Trade Commission	7	6,960
General Accounting Office—Treasury	143	183,380
Government Printing Office	934	1,344,524
Inland Waterways Corporation	3	2,250
International Boundary Commission	1	900
Interstate Commerce Commission	15	16,860
National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics	17	7,389
Mixed Claims Commission	2	2,400
National Military Home	181	81,651
**Panama Canal Office	23	23,787
Pan American Sanitary Bureau	1	1,470
Personnel Classification Board	2	2,220
***Post Office Department	25,390	35,127,433
Public Buildings and Parks	1,189	1,149,865
Smithsonian Institution	161	120,318
United States Board of Tax Appeals	9	11,390
United States Botanic Garden	7	7,500
United States Bureau of Efficiency	3	3,540
United StatesUnited States Civil Service Commission	12	14,580
United States Employees' Compensation Commission	2	2,760
United States Railroad Administration	1	1,020
United States Shipping Board	7	7,560
United States Shipping Board—Merchant Fleet Corp.	34	34,980
United States Soldiers' Home	27	18,480
United States Tariff Commission	7	8,460
United States Veterans' Bureau	495	762,805
War Finance Corporation	1	1,260
White House, the	10	12,900

* Includes (1) service at Washington, D. C.; (2) service at large.

** Also employs 10,867 native Negro Panamanians, whose aggregate yearly salaries total $6,810,229.

*** Computed upon base estimate of the United States Postmaster General.

2,520

Political-1928
Office Holding.

Maryland.

Resting For Operation

Warner T. McGuinn, attorney and City Councilman, 1911 Division street, has given up all active duties for the next few weeks in order to rest and get himself in physical shape for a serious operation, at West Baltimore Hospital.

The operaton was to have been performed on Tuesday. In a conference between the house physician of the hospital, Dr. Joseph M. Kemler, the specialist, and Dr. B. M. Rhetta, Mr. McGuinn's private physician, it was agreed that his blood pressure was too high at this time.

Eve SUN
BALTIMORE, MD.

APR 19 1928

OUTSIDE ASSIGNMENT FOR NEGRO APPOINTEE

Briscoe Not To Have Quarters At City Law Department, Says City Solicitor.

Arthur E. Briscoe, Negro lawyer, appointed as Assistant City Solicitor, will be assigned to work on collection of tax judgments, but will not have quarters at the law department, according to a statement today by City Solicitor A. Walter Kraus.

Briscoe is the fourth Negro to be given an appointive post in the administration of Mayor William F. Broening. The Zoning Commission has a Negro member, as have also the Jail Board and Charity Board. The latter three appointments were made by the Mayor.

To Call For Instructions.

Mr. Kraus said the suite of offices occupied by the law department is very much overcrowded. He added that only a few of his assistants have offices of their own and because of the crowded conditions Briscoe is to do his city work from his private office, but is to report to the law department for instructions when necessary. He is the first Negro given a place in the department.

The naming of Briscoe to this post is looked upon as a move to bring about withdrawal of the demand on the part of Negro leaders for the naming of a Negro on the School Board. The Mayor is believed to be opposed to the latter step and in order to satisfy the Negro element seeking recognition decided to give one of their number a place in the law department as a compromise.

Named From Eligible List.

He was named from an eligible list submitted by the City Service Commission. Briscoe was indorsed for the place by twenty-two Negro lawyers, State Senator Harry O. Levin, Republican; a number of Republican executives of the Fourth district and by Warner T. McGuinn and Walter S. Emerson, the two Negro members of the City Council, and by others.

The precedent established by naming a Negro as solicitor of the Law Department was widely discussed in political circles.

He will be the first Negro to enter the City Law Department as an assistant.

Member Of Bar Since 1916.

A graduate of the Howard University Law School, Briscoe has been a member of the Baltimore bar since March 4, 1916, when he was admitted upon motion of William Milnes Maloy. Before entering Howard University, he was graduated from the Colored High and Training School of Baltimore and spent four years in the Harlem Evening High School, New York.

Briscoe's name was among a number certified by the City Service Commission to A. Walter Kraus, City Solicitor, for the appointment. He has been active in Republican politics for many years, first serving as a judge of election in the Fourteenth ward.

Heads Ward Club.

He is now president of the Fourteenth Ward Republican Club, after having been vice-president for a long time.

Briscoe was clerk to the city delegation in the Legislature of 1918. Three times he has been an unsuccessful candidate for the Legislature in the Fourth district. He lost in the last general election by thirty votes in a total of 9,000.

Briscoe was indorsed for appointment as Assistant City Solicitor by twenty-two other Negro lawyers, State Senator Harry O. Levin, six of the eight Republican executives of the Fourth district, Warner T. McGuinn and Walter S. Emerson, the two Negro members of the City Council, and by thirty business men of the city.

Fourth Negro Appointed.

Briscoe is the fourth Negro to be given an office in the Broening Administration. There is a Negro on the Zoning Commission, another on the Jail Board and still another on the Board of Supervisors of City Charities.

The Mayor is being urged to appoint Dr. B. M. Rhetta, a Negro physician, on the School Board in the place of one of the three members, Dr. Frank J. Goodnow, Warren S. Seipp and Theodore E. Straus, whose terms expired March 1.

NEW ASST. SOLICITOR

The Afro-American was authorized to announce that Arthur Briscoe, 2330 McCulloh street, was appointed assistant city solicitor by A. Walter Kraus, City Solicitor, Wednesday. He started work at once.

Briscoe has been active in Republican politics for many years having on several occasions been a candidate for the state legislature. He has offices at 14 East Pleasant street.

SUN
BALTIMORE, MD.

APR 19 1928

MAYOR NAMES NEGRO TO CITY LAW OFFICES

Arthur E. Briscoe Will Be Assistant To Solicitor Kraus.

LEADER IN POLITICS IN 14TH WARD

Fourth Colored Man To Get Appointive Office By Broening.

Arthur E. Briscoe, a Negro lawyer, has been selected for a position as Assistant City Solicitor, with the approval of Mayor Broening, it was learned at the City Hall yesterday.

Baltimore Negro Given Large Post Is City Solicitor

Baltimore, Md.—(ANP)—In fulfillment of pre-election promises, Att'y Arthur E. Briscoe has been appointed an assistant city solicitor by A. Walter Krause, city solicitor. This is the first time a Negro ever has been appointed to the city law department. Briscoe is a graduate of Howard and has been prominent in Republican politics here for a number of years. He has made several unsuccesful attempts to be elected to the state legislature. His present appointment had the endorsement of the colored men in the city council and of Mayor Broenning. Before the appointment Mr. Briscoe had qualified under the civil service rules

Ex-S. C. Legislator Holds On At 78

Bishop William H. Heard, 1426 Rockland street, Philadelphia, will celebrate his 78th birthday, June 25.

He is a native of Elbert County, Georgia, was ordained in 1879 and elected bishop in 1904. Born a slave and unable to read or write at 15, he studied at night and was soon able to teach school.

He has been a page and a member of the South Carolina legislature, a U. S. minister to Liberia, and the West African area, A. M. E. Church. He is at present, assigned as bishop to the Third Episcopal Area, which includes Ohio, Western Pennsylvania and West Virginia.

Baltimore Gets First Negro City Attorney

Republican Administration Fulfills Pre-Election Promise 4/28/28.

BALTIMORE, Md., April 26.—Arthur E. Briscoe, prominent lawyer, with offices at 14 Pleasant street, was named assistant city solicitor by A. Walter Kraus, city solicitor, Wednesday, his selection being the first appointment of a colored man to the city law department as an assistant.

Attorney Briscoe, whose appointment was endorsed by race councilmen, Walter S. Emerson and Warner T. McGuinn, State Senator Harry O. Levin and many leading citizens of both races, qualified under the civil service rules for the past several months ago, and the appointment, which had the approval of Mayor Broening, fulfils a pre-election promise of the present administration.

A graduate of the Howard University Law School, Briscoe has been a member of the Baltimore bar since March 14, 1916. Before entering Howard University he was graduated from the High and Training School of Baltimore and spent four years in the Harlem Evening Night School, New York.

He has been active in Republican politics for many years, first serving as a judge of election. He was a clerk of the city delegation in the Legislature of 1918. Three times he has run, unsuccessfully, for the State Legislature, losing in the last general election by 30 votes in a total of 9,000.

Briscoe, whose salary, it is indicated, will be between $2,500 and $3,000, is the fourth Negro to be given an office in the Broening administration. There is a race member on the Zoning Commission, another on the Jail Board and still another on the Board of Supervisors of City Charities.

Political - 1928

Office Holding

NEW YORK AMERICAN

JUL 17 1928

PROBERS HEAR FEDERAL POST COST $1,500

Negro G. O. P. Leader Among Five Named; George Calls New's Charges Misleading

BILOXI, Miss., July 16 (AP).—Perry W. Howard, Negro National Republican Committeeman from Mississippi and the acknowledged party leader in the State, was indicted here today for conspiracy to violate the law prohibiting the sale of Federal offices.

The indictment specifically charged that Howard Scott Hubbard, a deputy United States marshal stationed here; D. Redmond, his brother, A. M. Redmond, and Ed L. Patton, Jackson negroes, received $1,500 for the appointment of A. P. Russell, of Magee, as deputy United States marshal for the Southern District.

A capias for the arrest of Howard, a special assistant United States attorney general, is en route to Washington for service.

Hubbard, the Redmond brothers and Patton were arrested in Jackson this morning. They posted $2,500 temporary bail pending arraignment here tomorrow.

By Universal Service.

WASHINGTON, July 16.—Indictment of Perry Howard, negro National Republican Committeeman from Mississippi and special assistant to the attorney-general, and six others on charges of selling Federal offices, is the first step in a thorough clean-up of the Southern Federal patronage scandal, it was learned at the Department of Justice today.

Howard immediately was given an indefinite leave of absence without pay from his post in the Department of Justice. He said he expected to "have no trouble clearing that up."

While a Federal Grand Jury continues its operations at Biloxi, Miss., operatives of the department are continuing their probe in Georgia, Florida, Alabama, South and North Carolina and other States in the "Solid South."

Charges that Postmaster General New gave "misleading" statements before the Brookhart Senate Committee investigating barter and sale of post office jobs in the South were filed with the committee today by Senator Walter F. George (D), of Georgia.

Senator George, referring to New's assertion that Democrats as well as Republicans have exacted campaign contributions from postmasters, said

"Two wrongs do not make a right. At best it is a poor alibi and is the logic of one caught with the goods."

George continued:

"The recent statement of the Postmaster-General to the Senate committee to the effect that the Democrats when in power had forced federal appointees to contribute campaign funds is misleading.

"The letter of W. D. Jamieson (former treasurer of the Democratic National Committee) to a Georgia postmaster asking that a small sum less than $100 be raised for campaign purposes is not on a par with the general policy of the Republican party under the present Administration.

PERSONAL GAIN CHARGED.

"Thousands of dollars have been exacted from the victims of this vicious policy, not for party purposes, but for the personal benefit, use and enrichment of a few grafters.

"Not one cent collected from postal employes of Georgia has gone to support the Republican ticket, State or national, but all of it has been appropriated to the private use of the officials of the Republican party in Georgia, except so much as may have been necessary for actual office expenses of the Republican State committee."

MEETING OUSTS NEGRO DELEGATE

Republicans Would Not "Embarrass Leaders"

WASHINGTON, July 24.—Mrs. Mary C. Booze, a Negro delegate to the Republican National Committee from Mississippi, was today ousted from the meeting place in which sixteen other women delegates had met, all on invitation, in order that her removal might "save republican leaders and especially Dr. Hubert Work, chairman of the Republican National Committee, embarrassment."

Work, now the official manipulator for the Hoover candidacy, was scheduled as the principal speaker at the meeting.

Moral issues are involved in the campaign to elect Hoover, Work told the conference. Immediately following the speech Mrs. Booze was tricked with the help of a photographer from attending a luncheon which the women had arranged.

Republicans have at times pretended to be the friends of the Negroes.

NEW YORK TIMES

JUL 17 1928

HOWARD IS INDICTED IN POSTAL JOB SALES

Biloxi (Miss.) Jury Accuses Negro Republican Chief of Selling Federal Offices.

FOUR NAMED WITH HIM

Alleged to Have Received $1,500 for Appointment of a Deputy United States Marshal.

BILOXI, Miss., July 16 (AP).—Sensations forecast Saturday, when the Federal Grand Jury investigating methods employed by State Republican leaders in distributing patronage adjourned for the week-end, appeared with surprising swiftness today while the jury continued to receive additional evidence from the scores of witnesses.

Although the District Attorney and other court attaches refused confirmation, from Washington it became known that Perry W. Howard, negro national Republican Committeeman from Mississippi and the acknowledged party leader in the State, had been indicted for conspiracy to violate the law prohibiting the sale of Federal offices.

The indictment specifically charged that Howard, Scott Hubbard, a deputy United States marshal stationed here; D. Redmond and his broher, A. M. Redmond; and Edward L. Patton, Jackson negroes, conspired and received $1,500 for the appointment of A. P. Russell of Magee as deputy United States marshal for the Southern district.

A capias for the arrest of Howard, who is a special assistant United States Attorney General, is en route to Washington for service.

Hubbard, the Redmond brothers and Patton were arrested in Jackson this morning. They gave $2,500 temporary bail bond for their release pending arraignment here tomorrow morning before Judge E. R. Holmes.

Howard has long been active in Republican politics in Mississippi. He was Republican State Chairman and his faction defeated the "Lily White" faction at the recent Republican National Convention.

An additional capias was served on Patton, bringing the total number of charges against him to seven. J. C. Tannehill, former Deputy Marshal at Summerall, and William E. Miller, Postmaster at Wiggins, Miss., were arrested on Saturday.

Arraignment of Patton, Tannehill and Miller was postponed today because of the absence of Judge E. R. Holmes, who has not returned from a week-end in New Orleans. They will be arraigned with Hubbard and the Redmond brothers tomorrow morning, the District Attorney's office announced.

Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt, Assistant United States Attorney General, who has been here assisting the Grand Jury in its investigation, departed yesterday for Washington.

Five R... Leaders Clea... 'Jobs' Probe

JACKSON, MISS., Dec. 14.—(AP)—Perry W. Howard, negro Republican patronage head of Mississippi and four other Republican leaders were cleared of charges of conspiracy to violate the federal patronage act today. The five were acquitted by a jury verdict in Federal Court here at 2:30 p.m.

Acquitted of the charge with Howard were S. D. Redmond, A. M. Redmond and A. L. Patton, negro lawyers of Jackson and J. Scott Hubbard, white, suspended deputy marshal in the Southern Mississippi jurisdiction.

The jury held the case for 20 hours before reporting to Judge Edwin R. Holmes shortly before 2 o'clock that they were ready to be received in court.

S. D. Redmond broke down in tears as he jury was dismissed and court adourned until the next regular term.

FIVE ACQUITTED OF SELLING JOBS IN MISSISSIPPI

Jackson, Miss., December 14.—(AP) Perry W. Howard, negro republican patronage head of Mississippi, and four other republican leaders were cleared of charges of conspiracy to violate the federal patronage act today. The five were acquitted by a jury verdict in federal court here at 2:30 p. m.

Acquitted of the charge with Howard were S. D. Redmond, A. M. Redmond and Ed L. Patton, negro lawyers of Jackson, and J. Scott Hubbard, white, suspended deputy marshal in the southern Mississippi jurisdiction.

The jury held the case for 20 hours before reporting to Judge Edwin R. Holmes shortly before 2 o'clock that they were ready to be received in court.

After the verdict was announced Miller McGilchrist, special assistant attorney general of the United States, aiding in the prosecution, said that the outcome of this case involving the southern district marshalship would not affect the prosecution of several other cases of similar nature pending.

Refuses To Name Negroes On Injury

By the Associated Negro Press

Jackson, Miss., Dec. 19—Judge Willey H. Cotter over-ruled the motion to quash the indictments against S. D. and S. R. Redmond, who claimed that the Fourteenth Amendment was violated, inasmuch as no Negroes were on the grand jury.

George P. Luckett and Elmere D. Greaves, members of the board, who draw the names of the grand jury testified that they would not under any circumstances draw the name of a Negro to serve on the grand jury. E. D. Fondren, Hinds county circuit clerk, testified that he had held the position for the past twenty-five years and had never known of a Negro doing jury service since the present state constitution was written in 1890. The Redmonds were placed under bond of $1,000 each on an attempt to defraud.

"Prosecution Of Perry Howard Simply My Duty"

Assistant Attorney General Tells A. N. P. Correspondent She Has No Color Prejudice

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 26.—Declaring that she was actuated in the prosecution of Perry W. Howard, Mississippi national committeeman, by no other motive than that of doing her duty as a law enforcement officer, Mrs. Mable Willebrandt in an interview Wednesday with a representative of the Associated Negro Press, insisted that she would not be swerved by public opinion or political pressure from her program of seeking indictments and convictions wherever graft was found, no matter how big and powerful the person involved was or what his racial identity happened to be.

Public attention has been directed toward Mrs. Willebrandt recently because of the militant attitude and eager zeal she has shown in her post - convention prosecution of charges of selling federal officers in Mississippi, a practice which in the absence of financing the Republican organization in that and other Southern states, is reported to exist in most of them.

While it is understood that most present day state political organizations are financially assessments levied upon patronage, the practice was made a felony by a law passed last year, sponsored by Southern senators for the express purpose of trapping those who levied upon federal jobs.

The levelling of attention however upon Mississippi where the lone espoused the cause of Herbert Hoover, neither that fact nor the interests of the Republican party will affect my official attitudes.

Mrs. Willebrandt whose grappling with the red hot problem of Southern political methods has focused the country's attention upon her, presents an interesting picture. Evidently in her middle thirties, slender, garbed in blue, with light brown hair and cool gray eyes, this woman who by sheer force and ability has won a place as an ace in the department of justice, is entirely feminine in her appearance. She has none of the strident masculine manners usually attributed to female politicians and lawyers, until she grows excited, when poking out her chin and lips determinedly she pounds her desk for emphasis. She has the Caucasian habit of smiling with her lips but rarely her eyes.

"I'll write my answers to these which I can answer," she said as the interviewer laid before her the typewritten list of questions, promising that a fair and impartial presentation of her replies would be given. Here are the questions and her written replies:

1. What steps are being taken to make similar investigations in other states to the ones being made in Mississippi and Georgia?

(Answer) Referred question to the Senatorial investigating committee for information.

2. Ordinarily we understand that you specialize in liquor violations. Was there any special reason for your initiative in the present Mississippi patronage case?

(No answer given). Previously she had said she prosecuted all graft.

3. It is reported that you personally assembled all the data here in Washington before going to Mississippi and that you have expressed an opinion that the Republican party in the South should be turned over to white people.

(Answer). No but it should be in the hands of honest people who do not violate laws whether white or colored.

4. In Biloxi, we understand you are quoted as saying that "you have started what you came here to do, to run the Negroes out of the Republican Party in Southern states so that self respecting white man might enter." Is that correct?

(Answer) "No."

5. As chairman of the contest committee of the Republican National committee at Kansas City, did you direct the policy in the matter of seating delegates?

(Answer) No, I presided and defended majority action taken.

6. Under the rule of the Republican National Committee, delegates were to be elected by districts. The Wurzbach faction followed this rule or procedure. The Creager faction selected in convention. What was the basis of their being seated?

(Answer) "The reply to this question is too involved and technical to answer briefly. I'll send for the report of the Texas case and you can read the opinion upon which it is based." She sent for the report which was at Senator Senroats' office.

7. Do you not feel that the raising of the patronage question in Southern states at this time will be of the utmost disadvantage to the Republican ticket?

(Not answered).

8. In view of the fact that most of the Negroes in Southern states are Republicans and that they constitute 85 per cent of the party, do you believe that the "lily white" policy of denying them representation or voice in Republican conventions or an opportunity to serve as committeemen or any other office in the ranks of the party, just?

No written reply was given to this question, but she burst forth "my answer to that is that my grandfather was wounded four times while serving in the Union army. I have been reared in that sort of atmosphere and have no color prejudice."

9. Some time ago letters were published showing solicitation of subscriptions by federal employees on the part of Messrs. Slemp and Creager, white committeemen of Virginia and Texas. What action will the department take in those cases?

(Answer) "I know nothing about that."

10. If the department of justice can initiate so much activity on behalf of a patronage matter, why is not action taken on the violation of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments?

(No answer).

11. What steps do you think the party ought to take to explain your attitude to the Negro voters of the North who are under the impression that the sole purpose of your activity is to drive the Negro out of leadership and active party participation in the South?

(Answer) "That I am trying as always to do my duty solely as I see it, to enforce the criminal laws wherever clear evidence of their violation is presented irrespective of whether defendants are white or colored and without reference to any political pressure either way."

12. Are any charges on file affecting states other than Mississippi and Georgia? Which ones?

(Referred to Senate Investigating Committee).

The question was not satisfied, not once had she expressed interest in the disfranchisement of thousands of Southern citizens nor abhorrence of the methods used to deprive them of their ballot.

"Can you not see," he persisted, "that the public generally is certain to put the stamp of political motive and of 'lily white' sympathy upon your activity since only Mississippi and Georgia are involved."

"They haven't found anything on Ben Davis, have they?" she asked quickly, "not that I know of." "Well you needn't try to worm out of me any statement bearing on politics," was her closing sentence.

The interviewer passed out of her pretentious suite of offices, past her duo of capable women assistants, past the two colored messengers and half dozen men in her reception room waiting to present their cases before this fair Portia.

THE TRIAL OF PERRY HOWARD, the Republican Negro committeeman from Mississippi, and four co-defendants, all charged with the sale of offices, has resulted in their acquittal. Howard, the dispatches report, made an admirable witness in his own behalf, being frank, straightforward, and good humored throughout his cross-examination. The jury simply would not believe the chief government witness, A. P. Russell, a former United States marshal, who swore that he paid the Negroes $2,000 for his office, $1,500 of which was given to Perry Howard in the latter's office in Washington, where he has been assistant to the Attorney General of the United States. An amusing touch was that some of the jurors declared they thought the Negroes had been "exceptionally good" to Russell and his brother and "they did not have much respect for informers anyway." This verdict is accepted as ending the efforts of the white Republican faction in Mississippi to get rid of Howard as the Republican national committeeman. Incidentally, it again puts up to Herbert Hoover the question of the reorganization of the Republican Party in the South. Leading Negroes have been distinctly on the side of Howard, not that they believed that he was above and beyond the time-honored methods of securing delegates and hawking officers to the highest bidder, but because they felt that he had been picked upon as a scapegoat largely because of his color. Meanwhile the Brookhart committee is sitting in Washington and bringing out more and more facts about the free sale of offices in the South. In one case, it appears, one man "gave up" $500 for a postmastership. When he failed to get the job it took the leveling of a revolver to get his money back.

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MAY RESUME PROBE OF PATRONAGE SALES

Investigation Expected at Oxford on Clarksdale.

M'CLELLAN SURRENDERS

Newton Republican Makes $2,500 Bond Appearance to Answer Charge of Violation Public Office Law.

JACKSON, Miss., July 21.—Indication that additional investigations are planned into how federal patronage affairs are managed by Mississippi Republican leaders was seen in reports persistently current at the federal building here today that a federal grand jury would be convened in the early future at either Clarksdale or Oxford in the northern district of the state to resume the inquiry where the Biloxi grand jury left off following its discharge yesterday.

While efforts at confirmation from the district attorney and the other court attaches were futile, the reports had it that the attorney general's office in Washington was desirous of determining if there had been any irregularities in distribution of public offices in the northern district. The grand jury at Biloxi concerned itself exclusively with appointments made in the southern district.

Eight Indicted.

Eight persons, including Perry W. Howard, national Republican committeeman from Mississippi, were indicted on charges of violating the law prohibiting purchase or sale of public office during the eight days it was in session.

George McClellan, Republican leader of Newton, appeared before the United States commissioner late today, posted bond for $2,500 for his appearance for trial at the November term of court here on an indictment returned by the Biloxi grand jury.

McClellan is charged with conspiracy to violate the public office law. The indictment charges he connived with Howard, S. D. Redmond, A. D. Redmond, Ed L. Patton, Jackson negroes, and J. Scott Hubbard, deputy United States marshal of the southern district, to bring about the appointment of A. P. Russell of Magee, to the district marshalship. Payment of $1,500 and traveling expenses to Washington was alleged to have figured in Russell's appointment.

Patton also was indicted with J. C. Tannehill of Summerall, and William E. Miller of Wiggins, in connection with Miller's appointment as postmaster at Wiggins.

McClellan's trial date will be set following his arrest and arraignment. His co-defendants also are to be tried here in November, having obtained a change of venue from Biloxi because of alleged prejudice. Tannerhill and Miller are to be tried with Patton at Biloxi in September. All are at liberty under bond.

ARRESTED AT JACKSON

Howard's Half-Brother Makes Bond on Charges.

JACKSON, Miss., July 16.—Dr. S. D. Redmond, leading negro Republican politician of the Howard faction, and a half-brother to Perry W. Howard, national committeeman from Mississippi of the Republican party, was arrested here today on a warrant from the federal court in session at Biloxi, on charge of violating the act which fodbids trafficking in public offices.

At the same time A. M. Redmond, brother to Dr. Redmond, who runs Redmond's drug store; Scott Hubbard, a former deputy United States marshal of Magee, Simpson County, and E. L. Patton, a prominent local politician of the Howard faction, were also arrested. Patton was arrested previously on six separate indictments and this makes the seventh charge against him.

All of the accused were released on $2,500 bond to appear before the Biloxi court Tuesday.

Dr. Redmond was formerly a physician of Jaskson and for the past 10 years has been engaged in law practice, having given up the medical profession on some disagreement with the state board of health. He is a large property owner of Jackson, a man of high education and is in affluent circumstances. In a previous warrant J. C. Tannehill of Sumrall, Miss., a former deputy United States marshal, was also arrested.

NEW YORK WORLD

JUL 17 1928

HOWARD INDICTED IN U. S. JOB SALES

Mississippi Negro Boss Is an Assistant Attorney General

TWO ASSOCIATES ARRESTED

Denies Guilt; Charges Plot to Help Hoover in South

By Charles Michelson
Staff Correspondent of The World

WASHINGTON, July 16—Perry W. Howard, Negro Republican National Committeeman, delegate to the Kansas City Convention and Special Assistant Attorney General, has been indicted in Mississippi for trafficking in Federal offices.

Howard has been described as the smartest Negro in politics.

He says he knows nothing about the case and Negro politicians here say the proceeding is simply an effort to take control of the Republican Party in the South away from the Negroes and, incidentally, to help Herbert Hoover in the border States, where his recent order abolishing Negro segregation in the bureaus under the Department of Commerce has aroused white voters.

Rush Holland, former Assistant Attorney General, testified before the Senate Committee recently that he had given to Howard $4,000 of the Hoover Campaign Fund for organization purposes and Howard gave similar testimony. There was $2,000 given directly and the rest in $200 a week contributions for maintenance of Howard's political headquarters. The Mississippi National Committeeman was seated at the Kansas City Convention after a contest.

Scandal of Years' Standing

The indictment is the culmination of a scandal of years' standing. There have been on file in the Department of Justice affidavits accusing him and his law partners of offering for sale United States Marshalships and other offices for $1,500 to $2,000 apiece.

There have been repeated investigations and Howard got clean bills of health from a House investigation committee, Postmaster General New and the Department of Justice.

At the last session of Congress the Brookhart Committee was appointed to investigate the sale of Postmasterships. The charges against Howard concerned the dealing in Marshalships and District Attorneyships. When the Negro was fighting against the selection of an all-white Hoover delegation from Mississippi he gave indications of wavering and it was broadly conveyed to him and to Ben Davis, who was in the same position in Georgia, that if they did not get in line the investigation could easily be broadened to include the other Federal offices. Howard was a loyal Hoover delegate from that time on.

The statutes make it unlawful to offer pay, solicit or promise money for Federal appointments. The penalty is $1,000 fine and a year's imprisonment.

Howard Denies Charge

"I don't know what it is all about," said Howard this afternoon. "I certainly have never done anything to deserve indictment."

According to an affidavit on file in the Department of Justice four years, S. D. Redmond, one of Howard's law partners, offered A. M. Storer, who was United States Marshal under Roosevelt and Taft, his former office for $1,500. There was exhibited to him an agreement between Redmond and Howard whereby the former was to be consulted in the appointment of Marshals and district attorneys.

The Washington Tribune, a Negro newspaper published a Biloxi, Miss., despatch which says:

"Those who would make the Republican Party in Mississippi a white man's party have turned to the Criminal Courts to obtain their objective. They are being aided, it is currently reported here, by Hoover campaign chieftains in Washington who are following the will-o'-the-wisp hope that the Republican Party will make inroads in the Democratic South if the Negro is eliminated from control in Southern States.

"This has caused many Negro politicians to view with suspicion the candidacy of Herbert Hoover. They are afraid that if he is elected, unless he changes his present evident policies, his Administration will be more disastrous to the race than that of William Howard Taft."

Two Arrests Made in Biloxi on Indictments

Special to The World

BILOXI, Miss., July 16.—S. D. Redmond and W. L. Noon, Negro Republican leaders, were arrested in Jackson this morning on indictments returned by the Grand Jury, charging "the purchase and sale of public office."

Another indictment was returned against E. L. Patton, Negro Republican leader arrested Saturday. He and J. C. Tanehil,l former United States Deputy Marshal, issued signed statements denying they had received any money, but charging they had been offered money by others who did not receive appointment.

SOUTHERN PATRONAGE SCANDALS.

The Brookhart committee, investigating Federal officeholding in the South, may be prevented from spreading Mississippi scandals on its records now that a special Federal Grand Jury at Biloxi has indicted PERRY W. HOWARD and others. HOWARD, an Assistant Attorney General of the United States and leader of Mississippi Republicans, can probably not be required to testify before a Senate committee while an indictment hangs over his head. Instrumental in obtaining the Grand Jury action was HOWARD'S colleague, Assistant Attorney General MABEL WILLEBRANDT; and already Washington, cynical in these things, is pointing out that the effect of the indictment is to defer testimony in the case until after the election.

Previous revelations have stressed with more force than for years the shocking state of the Republican Party in the South. HOWARD himself, known to the National Committee as "the smartest negro in politics," was on RUSH HOLLAND'S payroll at $250 a week while HOLLAND was gathering Southern delegates for Mr. HOOVER'S campaign managers. HOWARD it was who told the Senate campaign fund investigators that he would go through with HOOVER at Kansas City as soon as he saw he had not been "double-crossed": meaning that the "lily-white" faction in Mississippi had not been favored by the Secretary of Commerce. No double-crossing appearing, and HOWARD'S dominance in Mississippi being maintained, Mississippi did go through at Kansas City and was with the winner.

The specific charge against HOWARD is that he and others levied an assessment against a Deputy United States Marshal amounting to one-fourth of his salary in return for securing the man's appointment. This is violative of a strict statute. Trial may prove the innocence which HOWARD stoutly maintains; the fact of the indictment may check the Brookhart committee in part of its activity and keep some Republican scandals away from the public during the campaign; but more and more these facts are becoming apparent to the people of the country:

(1) Republican patronage and delegate conditions in the South must be made decent.

(2) Until they are, Republican national nominees, selected by Southern vote, cannot expect the support of the respectable white and Democratic elements in the South.

Negro Lawyer Flays Enemies

Interest Shifts In Post Office Probe

BILOXI, MISS., July 17.—(AP)—As a slow but steady parade of witnesses passed through the Federal Grand Jury room here to add to the accumulation of evidence relating to alleged trafficking in patronage by state Republican leaders, interest shifted from what was happening behind the closed doors of the jury chamber to open court where six of the seven persons thus far indicted and arrested were arraigned for pleas.

His arraignment was accepted by Sidney E. Redmond, Negro attorney for Jackson as an occasion for a broadside at his political enemies whom he charged with bringing about the indictment of himself, his brother, A. M. Redmond, Scott Hubbard, deputy United States marshal and E. L. Patton, negro Republican leader. The four, with Perry W. Howard, negro national committee man and special assistant attorney general are charged with obtaining $1,500 for the appointment of A. P. Russell to the Southern district marshal's force last year.

Redmond succeeded in obtaining an order from Judge Holmes transferring cases against himself, his brother and Patton from this to the Jackson district for trial at the November term of court. The Redmond brothers will not be arraigned until their case is transferred to Jackson, their appearance in court today being taken up entirely with the motion for a change of venue.

Hubbard in intering a plea of not guilty, raised no objection to trial here. J. C. Tannehill, former marshal of Summerall and Wm. A. Miller, postmaster at Wiggins, indicted jointly with Patton in connection with the appointment of Miller, also pleaded not guilty. The indictment against them charged violation of the statute prohibiting of the sale of federal office.

Redmond presented a lengthy motion to the court in support of his plea for a change of venue. He based his petition on counts ranging from "malice and factional politics" to violation of the 14th amendment because there were no negroes on the Grand Jury that indicted him, a situation he charged was prearranged.

"Testimony was obtained by the Grand Jury through threats, coercion and promised immunity," Redmond charged. The negro declared J. C. Tyler, former United States marshal here whom he termed "one of the conspirators" against him was in the jury room at the time the indictment against himself and his co-defendants was drawn. He also declared the presence of Mrs. Mable Walker Willebrandt, assistant United States attorney general who assisted the jury at the opening of it's investigation was irregular.

Howard, the acknowledged Republican leader in this state was relieved of his official duties at Washington today under an indefinite suspension order by the Department of Justice. A similar order was issued against Hubbard.

The national committee man in a formal statement declared he was innocent of the charge made against him and said he was being made a martyr to the cause of negro leadership.

PERRY HOWARD AND MISSISSIPPI

By William Pickens
(For the Associated Negro Press)

We have no faith whatever in the sincerity of the attack on Perry Howard by the Lily Whites of Mississippi, and no sympathy for their pretenses. When Perry Howard beat them at Kansas City, we expected a later attack. They are the kind that don't like to "stay beat," especially when beaten by a Negro. If we had been near Perry when he triumphed over that gang at the Republican convention, we should have said: "Don't smile, man, watch for the next blow."

A charge from the white "Republicans" of Mississippi that Perry Howard has been "selling Federal offices" certainly makes us smile. We do not whether Perry is guilty or not. We doubt that they will be able to fasten any guilt upon him. But we do know that the white "Republicans" of the South have been selling Federal offices ever since the Civil War. That is all Federal offices are made for in the South—to sell and to buy. We doubt that Perry Howard has had much of a chance to compete with the whites of Mississippi in this business.

That woman lawyer, Mrs. Willebrandt, one of Perry Howard's rivals in the Attorney General's office, seems to have sympathized with the Lily White element at Kansas City—and with feminine consistency she immediately afterwards flew south to get some "evidence" absolutely unconnected with the question at issue in Kansas City. We wish her ulterior motives the worst of bad luck.

We hate the buying as much as the selling of office—but we hate insincerity, treachery and pretenses to virtue, with a double hatred.

GOP Determination To Remove Negro Leaders Seen In Howard's Case

Washington, D. C.—(A N P)—The national capital was startled Saturday, when the report was received that Perry Howard, special assistant to the attorney-general and national committeeman from Mississippi, had been indicted by a Mississippi grand jury, following the investigation of the handling of federal patronage in Mississippi, which was conducted by Mabel Willebrandt, another special assistant to the attorney-general.

Attorney Howard, upon receiving notice of his indictment, immediately tendered his resignation to the attorney-general, but the latter deemed it expedient to postpone action upon it until he could investigate the charges and await the outcome of the case.

While Negro leaders here deplore the culpability of Attorney Howard, they are amazed that the Coolidge administration would initiate prosecution of this type in the face of the coming election and the persecution of Howard at the hands of the lily-whites in Mississippi. In decrying the Republican participation in the prosecution, these leaders point to the fact that nothing was done when similar charges were made against C. Bascom Slemp of Virginia and R. B. Creager of Texas, when their correspondence soliciting subscriptions was published.

According to reports here, ill-feeling has existed between Attorney Howard and Attorney Willebrandt for some time and reached a climax at the Kansas City convention. Some attribute the activities of the latter to this sentiment and explain why Attorney Willebrandt, whose special duty it is to engage in liquor prosecutions, stepped out of her usual line of duty to take a hand in the Howard case.

Attorney Howard in an interview in Kansas City is alleged to have charged his co-worker with being in sympathy with lily-whites in the clash on contests for seats. She, however, claims that she has no prejudice whatever, and points to the fact that she defrays the expenses of a colored youth at Howard University, but that she is anxious to "clean up" the Republican party in the South and build a real organization which will function at all times instead of just once every four years.

T. T. Willis, counsel for the Mississippi lily-whites, stated that he understood at Kansas City that the Republican party as a whole would unite to clean up colored leadership in the South. He further predicted that Rowland Lamont, white rival of Attorney Howard, would be elevated to the place held by Howard.

Reports here are also to the effect that United States Senator Pat Harrison may be involved before the case is cleared up.

MISSISSIPPI TO CONTINUE HOWARD ISSUE

Jury Dismissed After Eighth Arrest

Biloxi, Miss., July 27. — A warrant was issued Saturday for the arrest of George McClellan (white), Republican leader of Newton, which brings the number of persons indicted by the federal grand jury in session here to investigate patronage irregularities in Mississippi to eight, including Perry W. Howard, Republican national committeeman from Mississippi.

McClellan is charged with having conspired to violate the statute prohibiting the sale of public office. The indictment charged that he connived with Howard and six others, also under indictments, to bring about the appointment of A. P. Russell (white) of Magee to a United States district marshalship. Payment of $1,500 and traveling expenses to Washington were alleged to have figured in Russell's appointment. The grand jury was discharged Friday. McClellan posted bonds of $2,500 for his appearance for trial at the November term of court.

Indications that additional investigations are to be held into how federal patronage affairs are managed by Mississippi Republican leaders was seen in reports persistently current at the federal building Saturday that a federal grand jury would be convened in the early future at either Clarksdale or Oxford in the northern district of the state to resume the inquiry where the Biloxi grand jury left off, following its discharge Saturday.

While efforts at confirmation from the district attorney and other court attaches were futile, the report had is that the attorney general's office in Washington desires to learn if there were any irregularities in distribution of public offices in the northern district. The grand jury at Biloxi concerned itself exclusively with appointments made in the southern district.

ATTACK BOB CHURCH

Memphis, Tenn., July 27.—The indictment of Perry W. Howard, Mississippi Republican leader, has encouraged Tennessee lily white G. O. P. leaders to renew their attack on Robert R. Church, Republican chief of Memphis. A meeting of the lily whites has been called for Wednesday and is expected to result in a letter being sent Mrs. Mabel Walker Wilelbrandt, assistant U. S. attorney general, who directed the grand jury quiz of federal patronage in Mississippi, asking her to come to Memphis and start an investigation of Church's connection with alleged postoffice irregularities.

White Republicans say if they can convince the public that Hoover earnestly desires to get rid of the present political leaders in the South they can carry Tennessee for him. They credit Hoover for Mrs. Willebrandt's activity in Mississippi, and are seeking to show Hoover advisers that a similar trip to Memphis would result in a real clean-up which would bring more credit to Hoover.

These lily-white leaders contend that although Howard held a high federal office, he never was as strong politically as Church. The latter, they assert, has seemed immune to every investigation launched against him. The result of the recent probe by the departmnt of justive is a result of George Poole's affidavits against Church. They alleged that these affidavits have never been made public.

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Mississippi.

DEFENSE FUNDS

The practice of calling on the entire mass of our people to contribute to defense funds when some unfortunate member of our race is being unjustly prosecuted is perfectly laudable and justifiable. Whenever they seek to make martyrs out of our men and women because of some uncompromising stand or position they have taken we sincerely believe that all of us should contribute our share in defending that party, but when individuals engage in frolics of their own and run afoul the law they should not expect nor receive aid from those who had no hand in their misfortune.

Take the case of Perry Howard and bear in mind that a defense fund is being created and established in his behalf, and then reason out if such procedure is justifiable. We do not feel that it is. Mr. Howard has not been martyred in the sense that true martyrdom implies. Mr. Howard is accused of selling paronage and if he is guilty as charged we see no reason why the entire race is involved. If he is not guilty why should he expect the entire race to finance his defense? He made thousands of dollars for himself and has never assumed the role of a philanthropist neither has he been a fighter for his people on the front line trenches. He has no claim on the people, nor they on him. He is financially able to pay for his own defense and his acceptance of money given with this idea in mind should be condemned. Defense funds have a clearly defined place in our affairs and Mr. Howard's case does not fall within the category. There should be no abuse of this splendid practice of rallying to those worthy of and in need of public assistance.

Perry Howard's Defense Fund

So contributions are being sought for a defense fund for Perry Howard? That is interesting. It is also enough to make us laugh.

We do not laught at Perry Howard's plight, however. In fact, we are sorry for Mr. Howard. He is human, and we have considerable sympathy for a fellow being in any sort of plight. We laugh at the absurdity of a politician who made thousands of dollars through federal patronage in Mississippi and who did little for his own race when he had the chance, coming to them now in his hour of need.

As republican national committeeman from the great bailiwick of Mississippi, Mr. Howard had a position of great power and responsibility. Although actually he might have been able to do little to better the conditions of Negroes in that state of southern yokels, he could have at least made a show of fighting for the rights of black men. Whether such a move was sincere or not it would have caused him to get the sympathy of the public. Then a plea for defense funds would not fall on deaf ears.

But Perry Howard did not do that.

The time that he could have spent fighting the battles of colored folk was used by him to fatten his purse. He peddled patronage to white democrats and white republicans in the state of Mississippi for from $200 a job on up. And there were many jobs. It seems to us that it would be a good idea to let these men contribute funds for Mr. Howard's defense. They are the only ones who were benefitted by his position.

Howard should need no charity. While he does not have the fortune of a Rockefeller or of a Henry Ford, he should have a few dollars in the bottom of the old sock behind the hall clock, or in the clay tea pot on the pantry shelf, or wherever it is he keep his money.. He was a good federal job salesman.

Perry Howard may have been a leader—but not of black men. His falling from grace means little to the race. In fact, it would please us considerable if a few more of the black politicians of the Howard type and Howard school would go. It would benefit the Negro.

PERRY HOWARD FREED OF JOB SELLING CHARGE

Mississippi National Committeeman And Four Others Are Acquitted

JURY ACTS QUICKLY ON THE FIRST BALLOT

Howard Still On Committee, Altho Suspended From Washington Post

JACKSON, MISS., (A. N. P.)—Perry W. Howard, Republican National Committeeman for Mississippi, and four codefendants charged with violating the Federal Patronage Conspiracy Act were acquitted here Friday after an all night and morning session.

Others set free were Dr. S. D. Redmond, Chairman of the Republican State Executive Committee; his brother, A. M. Redmond, and Ed. L. Patton, a veteran politician who has attended every Republican National Convention in twenty-five years.

One result of the verdict will be that the white Republican faction led by Lamont Rowlands, U. S. Gordon, Charles Sheldon, and L. O. Crosby will fail in their effort to oust Howard as Republican National Committeeman for this State. Howard has no intention of resigning and there is no possible way of bringing about his removal.

Suspended From Post

Whether or not Attorney General Sargent will reinstate Howard as his assistant remains to be seen. Other indictments are pending but it is generally believed the Department of Justice picked its strongest case, and that all further efforts to convict them will be futile.

After Howard was indicted at the special term of Federal Court last July, when the charges aganst him were presented by Mrs. Mabel Willebrandt, special assistant to the Attorney General, he was suspended from his office at Washington. Later the Republican National Committee recognized the so-called white faction of the Republican party in this State, and put Lamont Rowlands, millionaire South Mississippi lumberman, in charge of the Hoover campaign.

Despite the expenditure of a large sum of money for speakers and campaign literature, Rowlands and his associates succeeded in capturing only about 27,000 votes. The Howard faction probably could have done better, since an overwhelming majority of the qualified voters remained away from the polls in resesentment over the dethronement of Howard.

Didn't Believe Witness

Several jurors stated frankly that they placed no confidence in the testimony of the chief Government witness, Anslem P. Russell, white, of Magee, former United States Marshal, who swore he paid $2,000 for that office. $1,500 of which was given to Perry Howard in the latter's office in Washington. There was little corroboration of Russell's testimony, save by way of circumstantial evidence, and the statements of his brother, A. S. Russell, white.

Jurors said they not only did not believe the Russells, but they thought the Negro politicians had been exceptionally good to the brothers, and they did not have much respect for informers, anyway.

A. P. Russell, white, escaped indictment, having taken an immunity bath when Mrs. Willebrandt brought him before the Grand Jury at Biloxi and brought out the story of how he had got the United States Marshalship. Scott Hubbard, white, a friend and neighbor, from whom he was alleged to have borrowed $2,000 with which to purchase the office was jointly indicted with the four defendants.

Only One Ballot

The jury was evidently never in doubt concerning Perry Howard's innocence. He was acquitted on the first ballot after the jury retired Thursday night, and on the second ballot the vote was 11 to 1, for acquittal of the other defendants.

The oral instructions given by Judge Holmes were to the effect that Howard could not be convicted of taking $1,500 in Washington, as Russell claimed, because that alleged offense took place in the District of Columbia, and this court was without jurisdiction, unless the jury also believed from the evidence that Howard had knowledge of the conspiracy to violate the patronage act.

Howard made an admirable witness in his own behalf. He was well poised, frank, straightforward and good humored throughout the grilling cross examination by Lester G. Fant, of Holly Springs, Assistant District Attorney. His attitude was that of a witness having nothing whatever to conceal.

MISSISSIPPI REFUSES TO NAME NEGROES ON JURY

JACKSON, Miss., (ANP.) — Judge Wiley H. Potter overruled the motion to quash the indictment against S. D. and S. R. Remond, who claimed that the Fourteenth Amendment was violated, inasmuch as no Negroes were on the grand jury.

George P. Luckett and Elmore D. Greaves, members of the board, who draw the names of the grand jury testified that they would not under any cirmustances draw the name of a Negro to serve on the grand jury. E. D. Fondren, Hinds County Circuit clerk, testified that he had held the position for the past twenty-five years and had never known of a Negro doing jury service since the present state constituion was written in 1890.

Howard Grateful For Vindivation

"I am grateful to the white citizens of Mississippi for giving me a square deal," said Perry Howard last night, shortly before boarding a train for Washington.

"I am ready and willing, at all

times and under all circumstances, to submit any action of mine to the calm and dispassionate judgment of the white men of my native state, confident that I will be fairly treated, and my heart is filled with gratitude for the exemplification of this faith as manifested in yesterday's jury verdict."

The Next Trial At Meridian Court

The next case in which Perry Howard figures, in event the government decides to continue the prosecution, will be at the Meridian court term in March when J. C Buchanan, former United States marshal, recently summarily removed from that office when he was indicted at the Biloxi court, will be arraigned for trial.

Government attorneys say that the Buchanan case is stronger than that presented against Howard by the Russell brothers, and attorneys for the defense venture an emphatic opinion to the contrary.

Able Attorneys For The Defense

Howard, Patton and the two Redmonds evidently do not believe in 'sending a boy to mill," for they employed three of the ablest criminal lawyers in the state, J. W. Cassidy of Brookhaven, James D. Thames of Vicksburg, and Edward Franklin of this city. The latter is a comparative newcomer in the courts in this section, having recently moved here from the delta, where he established quite a reputation for his skill in handling criminal cases. Messrs Cassidy and Thames have figured in some of the most notable criminal trials in the state.

Naturally, it cost the defendants a rather nifty sum of money to employ three lawyers of this type. However, it is understood that friends of Howard in Washington and other parts of the country, contributed liberally to his defense.

.WASHINGTON, D. C. — Perry W Howard arrived here T esday morning from Jackson. Miss. He was elated over his victory.

Shortly after his arrival Mr. Howard caled at the Department of Justice. He would make no statement regarding his call nor v uld he make any comment on the outcome of his trial.

He was busv most of the day at his offices at 1214 Pennsylvania avenue northwest, receiving congratulations upon his acquittal.

PERRY HOWARD FREED IN CONSPIRACY TRIAL

Four Co-Defendants Also Gain Acquittal at Jackson.

TO FACE MORE CHARGES

Special Prosecutor Disappointed, But Determined to Try Other Indictments Against Negroes and Deposed Deputy.

BY JOHN B. HUDSON.
Commercial Appeal Staff Correspondent.

JACKSON, Miss., Dec. 14.—Perry W. Howard, negro Republican national committeeman, and his four co-defendants, were acquitted in federal court here this afternoon of charges of conspiracy in the alleged sale of the United States marshalship to Anslem P. Russell of Magee, for $2,000.

The four co-defendants were: S. D. Redmond, physician-lawyer, and A. S. Redmond, druggist, both cousins of Howard, and Ed L. Patton, negro barber, the trio being associates of the Howard and Republican political bosses in Mississippi, and J. Scott Hubbard of Magee, suspended deputy marshal, who loaned Russell the $2,000.

The verdict was reported at 2:30 o'clock, 20 hours after deliberations began following the four-day trial, one juror had tried the jury during that long period.

Howard Acquittal Came Early.

Immediately after retiring to the jury room, at the close of the trial, the jurors on the first ballot acquitted Howard, but Alex Stewart of Peoria, from then on stuck to his decision for conviction of the two Redmonds, Patton and Hubbard. His eleven associates could not change him until this afternoon.

The jury consisted of Stewart, a brother of state Sen. Sitman Stewart of Liberty; W. W. McPhail, Carson; J. M. Martin, Raleigh; Jack Stone, Beach; R. P. Partridge, Meadville; J. H. Smith, Morton; Roscoe Cain, McCall's Creek; R. S. Edmondson, Seminary; J. E. Dear, Florence; H. W. Dear, Florence; S. P. Moak, Bogue Chitto, and Richard Fondren, Fondren.

A comparatively small crowd was in the courtroom to hear the verdict, but the audience consisted mainly of negroes. No demonstration was attempted. Howard and S. D. Redmond broke into tears when E. L. Langstaff, chief deputy clerk, read the verdict which had been handed to him by one of the jurors. Patton, coal black, broke into a broad grin; A. M. Redmond and Scott Hubbard were unmoved.

The verdict came as a surprise to Miller McGilchrist, special assistant attorney general of Washington who had been placed in command as prosecuting attorney-in-chief, he said after the verdict was read. He stated that the government would continue its prosecution on the other warrants, either at the May term of court here, or in Biloxi next January, if defendants apply for a transfer to that court.

Jim Cassedy, of Brookhaven, Ed Franklin, of Jackson, and Jim Thames of Vicksburg, the three defense counsel, had nothing to say. Lester Fant of Oxford, assistant district attorney for the northern district, who directed the examination of witnesses, had left for his home before the jury reported.

Farish Street Celebrates.

There is a celebration on Farish Street tonight, down in the heart of negro town. Acquittal of their idols, members of their race who have risen to a power which gives them the right to dictate nearly 1,000 federal appointments in Mississippi, and the veto power to block any applicant they do not endorse, causes them to believe that they can retain control of their party's machinery in Mississippi.

Factions of the G. O. P. have been warring for control of patronage for many years. Four years ago under leadership of Howard, who forged to the front in his party and, even prior to his elevation to the office of national committeeman for the Republicans, had been appointed an assistant to the attorney-general, under the Harding administration during the regime of Daugherty, won the title of patronage monarch in 1924. He had succeeded in ousting the Mulvihill faction.

Political friends were rewarded and political enemies punished, but during it all more than 90 per cent of the federal appointments in Mississippi went to Democrats during the Howard dictatorship. This displeased the opposing faction and some of his own group. Howard and his associates claim that factional strife was responsible for engineering the prosecution.

Howard was automatically suspended as assistant to the attorney-general when indicted at Biloxi last summer but he retained his post as national Republican committeeman. Efforts on the part of the Rowlands-Sheldon faction, organized last winter and admittedly under the leadership of white persons to oust Howard at Kansas City failed.

Still Patronage Boss.

The struggle was carried on by the two factions and during the presidential campaign the Hoover-Curtis Mississippi's campaign was lodged in the hands of Lamont Rowlands, of Picayune, as chairman of the ways and means committee. Howard an his group were shelved during the campaign, although both factions had a set of electors on the ticket.

Howard, however, remained as national committeeman, and still occupies that post, being re-elected for a four-year term at Kansas City. Efforts to dislodge him have proven futile. He is still federal patronage referee, and, it is predicted, will remain as such; at least until Herbert Hoover assumes office.

Negro Republican Leader Denies He Was 'Paid' For Postal Job

JACKSON, MISS., Dec. 12.—(AP)—Perry W. Howard, negro Republican leader of Mississippi, denied on the witness stand late today in the patronage trial, that there was any financial consideration in his endorsement of A. P. Russell, former Magee, Miss., postmaster, to become United States marshal of the Southern District of Mississippi.

The prosecution alleged that Howard was paid $1,500 by Russell in consideration for his endorsement when Russell and the negro Republican leaders went to Washington early in 1924 to confer with Howard on the appointment.

Howard, together with S. D. Redmond, A S. Redmond and Ed L. Patton, Jackson negro Republican leaders and J. Scott Hubbard, suspended deputy marshal, are on trial on charges of conspiracy to violate the Federal patronage act.

Howard, at the request of James W. Cassidy, counsel for defense, identified and read before the jury a letter written Howard by Russell asking some definite information on his chances for the marshalship. The letter was dated April 29, 1926.

There were other candidates for marshal, Howard said, and he recommended F. S. Swalm, of Brookhaven.

Howard then related his meetings with the Redmonds, Patton and Russell, who, he said, went to Washington and pressed the application of Russell. Howard said he informed Russell that he could not consider him for marshal unless Swalm, whom he had already recommended should withdraw.

Howard then said he had already taken a stand against any acceptance of money from candidates when S. D. Redmond called attention of the group to the passage of the Federal patronage act in Congress and Redmond announced that he was "through with patronage."

Howard declared that he informed the group that if there were any consideration of money planned he would request them to withdraw from his office.

Howard then said that he had been informed by John Marshall of the attorney general's office that the senators favored the appointment of Russell and that the confirmation of Swalm would be doubtful.

Thereupon without agreement with Russell, Howard testified he recommended the appointment of Russell.

Correspondence of Russell with Howard before the endorsement spoke of some things Russell was to do back in Mississippi.

The witness testified that those things were to "get Swalm out of the race and obtain further endorsements."

While Russell sought the aid of Howard in getting Swalm to leave the marshalship race Howard said he insisted that was Russell's task and that additional endorsements were needed.

Howard denied that he employed a code letter and denied that "further endorsements" requested in a letter to Russell meant "further money" as Russell alleged in his testimony.

Political 1928

Mississippi

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CHARGED WITH SALE OF FEDERAL JOBS

National Committeeman From Mississippi Caught In Whirlpool Of Investigation By Department Of Justice

Pittsburgh Courier 7/21/28

"I Won't Quit"--Howard

By RIENZI B. LEMUS

(Special to The Pittsburgh Courier)

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 19.—Hon. Perry W. Howard, special assistant attorney general of the U. S., Republican National committeeman for Mississippi, and this writer are personal friends. Washington was startled on the evening of Sunday, July 15, to hear that, on request of Solicitor General Mitchell of the Department of Justice, acting for the Attorney General, absent from the city, that Mr. Howard had resigned from the Attorney General's staff.

In a telephone conversation today in which this writer asked Mr. Howard's permission to categorically deny the rumor of his resignation, Mr. Howard granted the permission to deny it, saying that despite the request for his retirement as special assistant attorney general he had declined to quit.

Perry W. Howard, assistant United States Attorney General and National Republican committeeman from Mississippi, has been indicted for conspiracy to violate the law prohibiting the sale of Federal offices. Howard's indictment is the result of a Federal Grand Jury investigation of alleged Federal patronage in Mississippi.

The indictment specifically charged that Howard Scott Hubbard, white, a Deputy United States Marshal stationed at Biloxi, Miss., D. Redmond, his brother, A. M. Redmond and Ed L. Patton, Jackson, conspired and received $1,500 for the appointment of A. P. Russell of Magee as deputy United States marshal for the Southern district.

A capias for the arrest of Howard, a special assistant United States attorney general, is on its way to Washington for service. Howard, in Washington, in commenting on the affair, declared "an indictment is one thing; conviction, another. I shall await my day in court."

Warrant for the arrest of the national committeeman is believed to be the "sensational disclosure" referred to by Federal officials several days ago, which J. C. Tannehill, white, and E. L. Patton were taken into custody at Jackson on six indictments charging "purchase and sale of public offices."

According to an announcement from the district attorney's office, immediate trials will be sought for the men. The investigation continues; more than 100 witnesses are waiting to be heard.

Indictment Imminent

Early in the probe the indictment of Howard was imminent.

Shortly after the grand jury had retired to begin interrogation of witnesses, it became known from the minute books of the district attorney's office that witnesses had been summoned to testify as to events leading up to the appointment last summer of Russell. The witnesses were instructed to present any correspondence they had with Howard.

The witnesses included: Sims Williams, C. J. Keys and S. L. Langston, president, vice president and assistant cashier, respectively, of the State Guaranty Bank of Magee, who were instructed to produce bank accounts, vouchers, deposit slips and record books of Russell, his wife and brother, Sid Russell, and Scott Hubbard, a deputy United States marshal on duty here from January 1, 1927, till July 1, 1928.

Russell served as marshal until last October, when he was appointed postmaster at Magee, which office he still holds.

Howard's connection with the Russell appointment was brought out in the grand jury's call for correspondence between the Russell and the assistant attorney general or his office relating to Russell's appointment.

Senator Harrison of Mississippi telegraphed E. E. Hindman, United States district attorney at Biloxi, that he would co-operate in every way possible in the investigation.

The grand jury ordered J. T. Thomas, Grenada, Miss., banker, to appear with all correspondence dating from July 1, 1926, to July 10, 1928, between himself and Harrison. It was made clear, however, that the process was not directed toward the Senator.

Harrison said his files were open and he stood ready to assist "in any way that corruption may be revealed and the guilty punished" He recalled no correspondence with Thomas.

The patronage investigation is reaching far greater proportions than had at first been expected. The penalty for the sale of public office is two years in the Federal penitentiary.

Appeal

MEMPHIS

TENNESSEE

NOV 10

MARSHAL IS INDICTED ON JOB SALES CHARGE

Four Mississippi Politicians Named in True Bills.

PERRY HOWARD INVOLVED

Three Negro G. O. P. Leaders and U. S. Marshal Buchanan Are Objects of Grand Jury Accusations—Postal Job Sales Alleged

BY JOHN B. HUDSON.

Commercial Appeal Staff Correspondent.

JACKSON, Miss., Nov. 9.—J. G. Buchanan, United States marshal for the southern district of Mississippi, and four others were indicted today by the Federal Grand Jury, charged with selling federal offices.

Others indicted were Perry Howard, negro national Republican committee man from Mississippi, and suspended assistant to the attorney-general of the United States; Ed L. Patton, negro lawyer and Republican politician of Jackson; Charles Isaacs, negro Republican politician of Natchez, and George C. McClellan of Newton.

Howard, McClellan, Patton and Buchanan were indicted in connection with the marshalship for South Mississippi, and Isaacs in connection with postoffice appointments.

Buchanan Arrests Self.

Buchanan, who was on duty at today's term of Federal Court, served himself with a warrant placing himself under arrest. All of the defendants have made bail.

Federal Judge Holmes, after an all-day hearing, over-ruled a motion entered by Jim Cassedy, of Brookhaven, one of the defense attorneys, for quashing the indictments returned last summer at Biloxi against Howard, S. R. Redmond and J. Mhoon, negro Republican politicians, charged with sales of Federal patronage.

The trials of Howard, Redmond and Mhoon was set for December 10 at Jackson.

The government was represented today by Miller McGilchrist of Washington, special prosecutor out of the attorney-general's office, and was associated with Assistant United States Attorneys Holden and Hallam. Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt, assistant attorney-general, who participated in the investigation at Biloxi, will be present at the trial.

Negroes Back Howard.

Defense attorneys placed T. Webber Wilson, congressman from the Sixth District, unsuccessful candidate against Senator Hubert D. Stephens, on the stand in an effort to prove that the grand jury at Biloxi was intimidated or coerced into returning the indictments.

Wilson at that time was basing his campaign against Stephens on the trafficking in federal patronage in Mississippi, and appeared before the Biloxi grand jury on his own request to testify.

Negroes of the state held a state-wide mass meeting several days ago in Jackson, at which time "a vote of the most implicit confidence in the honor and integrity of Perry Howard and S. R. Redmond was unanimously voted by the house," reads a statement given out today by A. J. Brown, chairman of the meeting.

"Appropriate steps were taken to raise a fund to help defray the expense of the defense of prosecutions now being waged against Perry Howard, S. R. Redmond and other party leaders, and it was voted that the pastors of all colored churches in the state are requested to take a special collection on Nov. 18 for the purpose of assisting in these defenses."

Rowlands May Replace Howard.

There is considerable speculation as to the action that will be taken against Howard in regard to his commission as Republican national committeeman from Mississippi. Howard for several years was dispenser of patronage in this state, but his leadership has been attacked by Lamont Rowlands, former Governor Sheldon of Nebraska and other white Republicans in the state. Rowlands was recognized during the presidential campaign as chairman of the state campaign, and it is freely predicted that he will be named national committeeman in place of Howard.

The white faction has been relentless in its warfare against the negro domination of the party in this state. Mary Booze of Mound Bayou is negro Republican national committee woman. Whether she will be replaced, along with Howard, is a question of considerable speculation, but so far there has been no outward sign that any such step was contemplated.

PERRY HOWARD LOSES ANOTHER BATTLE

JACKSON, Miss.—Petition of Perry W. Howard, Republican National Committeeman from the State of Mississippi, to withdraw the names of several persons chosen at a convention called by him in April from sample ballots as presidential electors of the Hoover-Curtis faction on his ticket, was denied Wednesday by Secretary of State Walker Wood. Lack of authority and lateness in time were given as the reasons for denying the petition.

A list of electors, chosen by the Rowlands-Sheldon faction, a lily-white group has also been recognized by the election commission.

One of Howard's ten electors, Mrs. Aline Pettus, of Okolona, was sentenced to six months in jail by Federal Judge Holmes.

PERRY HOWARD COMPELLED TO CANCEL TICKET

Mississippi Hears He Was Threatened With Term In Atlanta Pen

SECRETARY OF STATE DECLINES REQUEST

$10,000 Bribe Recalled—Case Called Flimsy—Conviction Certain

JACKSON, MISS. (Special)—Secretary of State Wood turned down the request of Perry Howard to cancel the Howard list of presidential electors in the November election because the official ballot was already prepared.

The Jackson Daily News said, Friday:

"The request for withdrawal of the Perry Howard and Mary Booze Republican electoral ticket was made in person by Dr. S. D. Rermond, chairman of the Republican state executive committee of that faction.

"So far as can be learned, no meeting of the committee was held to sanction the request.

"It came only from Dr. Redmond, who somewhat reluctantly admits that he submitted it in accordance with instructions from Perry Howard, who is now in Washington.

"Only a little imagination is necessary to picture the pressure that was brought upon Perry Howard by Chairman Work and other members of the Republican national committee, to bring about this request.

"Perry Howard is in the middle of a mighty bad fix, and nobody knows it better than does Perry Howard.

"BETRAYED BY FRIENDS

"He has been betrayed in the camp of his Republican friends, shot from behind by Mrs. Mabel Willebrandt, his co-laborer and associate as special assistant to the Attorney-General of the United States, deposed from rank and pay in that office, faces indictments under which they threaten to send him to the Federal Penitentiary, outlawed from the party in which he has been a fairthful worker and generous contributor for many years, and it is merely human and perfectly natural that he should now jump when the party whip is cracked, and attempt to get his set of Presidential electors removed from the party ticket in Mississippi.

"ALL TO GAIN—NOTHING TO LOSE

"Howard had everything to gain and nothing to lose in making this request.

"He knows that there is utterly no hope whatever of Mississippi going Republican this year; that neither his ticket or the lily-white ticket has even a remote hope to win.

"He is facing indictments to be called at the November term of Federal Court in Jackson — a court term convening on the day prior to the Presidential election.

"Where the charges in these indictments be true or false, Howard is full well aware of the fact that political feeling is running high in Mississippi, and he faces grave risk of conviction, even if the evidence against him should not be of conclusive character.

"THREATENED WITH PEN

"If Howard had refused to request withdrawal of his electoral ticket he faced threat of prosecution to the utmost by the Department of Justice at Washington. Whether or not he has received a promise, expressed or implied, of immunity from prosecution in event his electors were withdrawn is of course a matter of conjecture.

"PLAN FRUSTRATED BY WOOD'S RULING

"When Dr. S. D. Redmond entered the office of Secretary of State Wood with his formal request for withdrawal of the list of Howard and Booze electors the printing press was already in operation turning out the sample form of ballot to be sent to the county boards of election commissioners.

"HOWARD COULD TELL INTERESTING THINGS

"If Perry Howard ever decides to open up, after his court troubles have been finished, and do some frank talking, he will no doubt have highly interesting things to tell concerning the various tricks, schemes, wiles and maneuverings that have been resorted to in the effort to wrest from him control of the Republican party in Mississippi.

"For illustration: Perry Howard could tell if he is so inclined, a highly illuminating story about how a near-relative of Lamont Rowlands, chairman of the lily-white branch of the Republican party, approached him with a cash offer of $10,000 if he would resign as Republican national committeeman and allow Rowlands to be named in his stead.

"And if Howard should tell all that he knows about how certain alleged Democrats in Mississippi have sought his favor, making earnest appeals to him for pieces of Federal patronage pie — well, it would be a story mighty interesting for the general public, but decidedly unpleasant for the parties involved.

"DIDN'T MAKE RETURN VISIT

"The cold truth is that Mrs. Willebrandt picked the very mildest and most inconclusive cases she found against Perry Howard for presentation to the Biloxia grand jury — cases that involve the element of "reasonable doubt" on which acquittals are so often based, and neglected to go into cases wherein, the evidence, if she had given access to the reports of postoffice and Department of Justice inspectors and special agents, would have seen far more conclusive and convincing.

"Mrs. Willebrandt, it will be recalled, promised that she would return to Mississippi and appear at the Aberdeen and Clarksdale court terms to conduct further investigations into the alleged traffic in postoffices in this state. but Mabel has been so busy trying to elect Hoover that she forgot this promise — and purchasers of postoffices in those districts were greatly relieved when she failed to put in her appearance.

"AND MABEL PICKED THE MILDEST CASES

"It was remarked in the editorial columns of the Daily News a few days since that Perry Howard has been more sinned against than sinning.

THE SACRIFICE OF PERRY HOWARD

"Perry Howard has made no effort to appear in the role of a martyr. Since he was suspended as special assistant to the attorney-general, "without duty and without pay," he has manifested a remarkable silence. Not one utterance has come from him concerning the charges preferred. not one complaint of injustice at the hands of his G. O. P. friends.

"Deluded by a belief that there might be a fighting chance to smash the Solid South, the Republican campaign committee has deposed all of its Negro leaders, for the time being, and placed white men in their stead — in most instances white men of northern origin who have little knowledge of southern conditions, and no sympathy with the southern viewpoint on the race question. As party leaders they are more dangerous by far than the deposed Negroes, because of their utter lack of knowledge of the South, and the profundity of their ignorance on inter-racial relations."

PERRY HOWARD DENIED RECALL OF ELECTORS

State Rules Names Must Remain On Ballot.

BY JOHN B. HUDSON.
Commercial Appeal Staff Correspondent.

JACKSON, Miss., Oct. 17.— The presidential electors of the Hoover-Curtis ticket, filed by the Perry Howard group of Republicans, cannot be withdrawn from the ballot by the secretary of state, Walker Wood ruled today when the Howard faction presented a petition asking that the names be taken from the ballot.

Secretary of State Wood based his action on two grounds, the first being that he had no legal right to withdraw names formally presented and accredited by a state convention on a mere petition, and further that the sample ballots containing the 10 electors involved had been mailed out earlier in the day to the county election commissioners and it was too late to withdraw the names.

Selected at Convention.

The Howard group, sponsored by the faction headed by Perry Howard, negro national committeeman of the Republican party in Mississippi, was selected at a convention called by Howard last April. The names were accredited to the secretary of state by the chairman of that convention.

A day or so before the Howard names were presented the presidential electors of the Rowlands-Sheldon faction were filed with the secretary of state. This list was selected at the state convention of Republicans of the Sheldon group and were accredited as such.

Attorney General Rush H. Knox, in an opinion, held that both tickets should go on the ballot, in that both factions, on the face of the record before him, had complied with the laws governing the selection of presidential electors.

Secretary Wood pointed out that one recourse open to the Howard group was for them to petition each county election commission, asking that the names be taken from the lists of the counties. Then it would rest with the election commission whether they had authority under the law to take such action.

It was pointed out that if names could be withdrawn by petition after they are once selected by convention that any group could thus have removed from the ballot any names they objected to having placed on the ticket.

One of the presidential electors on the Howard ticket, Mrs. Aline Pettus of Okolona, is now serving a six months jail sentence in the Greenwood jail following her sentence in Aberdeen by Federal Judge Holmes.

NEGRO POLITICIANS WIN CASE.

Mrs. Mabel Willebrandt, who kicked up considerable of a rucus during the campaign in laying charges, must feel somewhat disconcerted over outcome of the famous Mississippi cases involving Howard, the negro National Committeeman, and several of his associates, charged with dispensing Federal patronage for gain. The specific count was that the negroes had sold a United States marshalship to a man named Russell. The jury reported that it did not believe Russell's story, that it thought the negro politician had been "especially good" to him, and that it "did not have much respect for informers, anyway." Howard, therefore holds his job as National Committeeman, and, as he will not resign, there is no way of bringing about his removal, to the continued disturbance of the Lily Whites. One of Howard's associates who was given a free bill of health is "a veteran negro politician" known as Ed Patton, who claims distinction as having attended every National Republican convention for 25 years, and indications are that he will duly show up at the next affair. The point of interest in this trial, however, is that a Mississippi jury seems to place more confidence in the testimony of negroes than it does in that of po' white trash, for that might be the proper classification of a white man who tries to prove that he bought office from "a nigger."

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PERRY HOWARD MAKES GOOD WITNESS

(Special to The Eagle.)

Jackson, Miss., Dec. 12.—The trial that has been looked for by the colored and white people of the country started last Monday the 10th when the Hon. Perry W. Howard, Republican National Committeeman from Mississippie, was begun. Mr. Howard, together with S. D. and A. M. Redmond, Ed. L. Patton and Scott Hubbard, white, are charged with conspiracy to sell post offices in Mississippi.

The trials started as such cases usually do and the selection of the jury was gotten without much effort. The case is being prosecuted by a special assistant attorney general from the Department of Justice at Washington. Mr. Howards case is in the hands of the best criminal lawyer in Mississippi, James W. Cassidy, who is taking advantage of everything that will serve to help his client.

The testimony of A. J. Russell that he paid Mr. Howard $1,500 to be named as marshal will be used as the ground work for the impeachment of Russell. It is said here that Russell when he took the oath of office swore that he had not given money or any other valuable thing for the office. If that be true then he either perjured himself when he took the oath of office or else he prejured himself when he swore he paid Perry Howard money to be appointed.

Responding to direct questions by Mr. Cassidy during cross-examination Russell, a former United States marshal, who had testified that he paid $2,000 to Howard and associates for that office, denied that he had asked Gus Woodcock, bailiff of the grand jury at Biloxi, to help "frame these Negroes," and that he had plenty of money for this purpose.

Russell also denied that he had made a similar request of Scott Hubbard of Magee, who later served as one of his deputies, and offered him $1,500 to aid in the framing.

Summoned as Defense Witnesses.

Both Woodcock and Hubbard have been summoned as defense witnesses. Hubbard is the man from whom Russell claims to have borrowed the $2.000 paid by him to Howard, E. Patton, S. D. Redmond and A. M. Redmond. Russell's brother, A. S. Russell, Republican postmaster at Magee, corroborated a portion of his brother's testimony relative to the trip to Washington and payment of money to the Negroes.

He was questioned about alleged bitter quarrels with his brother after an investigation had been made of the Magee postoffice, the theory being an investigation had been instigated by Perry Howard, but Judge Holmes ruled this testimony was not competent.

On Tuesday afternoon Mr. Howard took the stand and denied that he had accepted money for the appointment of A. J. Russell as U. S. Marshal. Mr. Howard made a good witness and impressed the court with his truthfulness. It is in Jackson where Mr. Howard is highly esteemed and respected by both whites and colored.

Mr. Howard, at the request of James W. Cassdy, counsel for defense, identified and read before the jury a letter written Howard by Russell, asking some definite information on his chances for the marshalship. The letter was dated April 29, 1926.

There were other candidates for marshal, Howard said, and he recommended F. S. Swalm, of Brook Haven.

Howard then related his meetings with the Redmonds, Paton and Russell, who, he said, went to Washington and pressed the application of Russell. Howard said he informed Russell that he could not consider him for marshal unless Swalm, whom he had already recommended, should withdraw.

He said he already had taken a stand against acceptance of money from candidates after S. D. Redmond called attention of the group to the passage of the Federal patronage act in Congress and Redmond announced that he was "through with patronage."

Howard asserted he had been informed by John Marshall, of the Attorney General's office that the senators favored the appointment of Russell and that the confirmation of Swalm would be doubtful. Thereupon without agreement with Russell, Howard recommended the appointment of Russell.

The opinion here is, as I send this article to The Eagle, that the case against Mr. Howard is very weak and that his acquittal is expected.

STINGING BLOW FOR LILY WHITE FACTION

Perry Howard's Acquittal Busts Up Plan to Get Control of G. O. P. in This State

Editor's Note—The following story was published in the Jackson (Miss.) Daily News after the acquittal of Mr. Howard. It is a pen picture of the trial by Major Frederick Sullens, editor of the newspaper.

The acquittal of Perry W. Howard, Republican national committeeman for Mississippi, and four co-defendants charged with violating the federal patronage conspiracy act has completely upset the white faction of the Republican party in this state, and probably destroyed their plans to secure complete control of the party machinery.

"More sinned against than sinning" was the general opinion of spectators who listened to the testimony throughout the four-day trial, and the verdict was unquestionably a complete vindication for Howard, freely after returning the verdict of Dr. S. D. Redmond, chairman of the acquittal, and several of them stated Republican state executive committee, his brother, A. M. Redmond, and frankly that they placed no confidence whatever in the testimony of Ed. L. Patton, the latter a veteran the chief government witness, Ans-Negro politician who has attended lem P. Russell, of Magee, former every Republican national conven-United States marshal, who swore tion held during the past 25 years. that he paid the Negroes $2,000 for that office, $1,500 of which was given to Perry Howard in the latter's office on Pennsylvania Ave. in Washington.

Defeat Lily-Whites

One of the results of the verdict will be that the white Republican faction, led by Lamont Rowlands, U. S. Gordon, Charles Sheldon and L. O. Crosby will fail in their effort to oust Perry Howard as Republican national committeeman for this state. Howard has no intention whatever of resigning, and, since he has been acquitted of the criminal charges brought against him under the federal patronage conspiracy act there is no possible way of bringing about his removal.

Whether or not Attorney-General Sargeant will reinstate Howard as assistant in the attorney-general's office remains to be seen. Other indictments are pending against Howard and three of the defendants, the two Redmonds and Patton, but it is generally believed that the department of justice picked its strongest case against them for the Jackson trial, and that all further efforts to convict them will be futile. After Howard was indicted at the special term of federal court last July, when the charges against him were presented by Mrs. Mabel Willebrandt assistant attorney-general, he was suspended from his office at Washington, and later the Republican national committee recognized the so-called white faction of the Republican party in this state, and put Lamont Rowlands, millionaire south Mississippi lumberman, in charge of the Hoover campaign in this state.

Despite all the fuss and fury of the battle, and the expenditure of a large sum of money in sending out speakers and distributing campaign liter-

There was very little collaboration of Russell's testimony, save by way of circumstantial evidence, and the statements of his own brother, A. S. Russell, who succeeded to the postmastership at Magee after Anslem P. Russell had been made United States marshal—a job he held for a very brief period.

Admits Loan

Jurors stated that they not only didn't believe the two Russells, but they thought the Negro politicians had been exceptionally good to the Negroes and have much respect for informers anyway.

A. P. Russell escaped indictment for his part in the conspiracy, having taken an immunity bath when before the grand jury at Biloxi and brought out the story of how he had secured the United States marshalship. This testimony saved him from prosecution, but Scott Hubbard, a friend and neighbor, from whom he was alleged to have borrowed $2,000 with which to purchase the office was jointly indicted with the four Negro defendants.

Hubbard frankly admitted that he had made the loan to Russell, without security or any evidence of indebtedness, and said that he had frequently made loans of the same nature to Russell, although for smaller sums.

The jury was evidently never in doubt concerning Perry Howard's innocence, for he was acquitted on the first ballot after the jury retired to deliberate Thursday night, and on

the second ballot the vote was 11 to 1 for acquittal of the other defendants.

The oral instructions given by Judge Holmes were to the effect that Perry Howard could not be convicted of taking $1,500 from Russell in Washington, as Russell claimed because that offense took place in the District of Columbia, and this court was without jurisdiction, unless the jury also believed from the evidence that Howard had knowledge of the conspiracy to violate the patronage act.

The lone juror who held out for conviction until 2:30 o'clock Friday afternoon was Alex Stewart, of Amite county, a stalwart Democrat brother of State Senator R. S. Stewart, of that county. Mr. Stewart changed his mind and joined the majority shortly after the jury returned from lunch at a Capitol street restaurant.

Throughout the trial the prediction was freely made around the federal building that, regardless of what might happen to the other defendants, Perry Howard would be acquitted.

The Republican national committeeman made an admirable witness in his own behalf. He was well poised, frank, straightforward and good-humored throughout the grilling cross-examination by Lester C. Fant, of Holley Springs, assistant district attorney for the northern district, and one of the ablest criminal lawyers in the state. His entire attitude toward counsel was that of a witness perfectly willing to tell all he knew, and having nothing whatever to conceal. That he was convincing the jury was quite evident throughout the examination.

Howard Grateful for Vindication

"I am grateful to the white citizens of Mississippi for giving me a square deal," said Perry Howard last night, shortly before boarding a train for Washington.

"I am ready and willing, at all times and under all circumstances, to submit any action of mine to the calm and dispassionate judgment of the white men of my native state, confident that I will be fairly treated, and my heart is filled with gratitude for the exemplification of this faith, as manifested in yesterday's jury verdict."

When Howard boarded the midnight train for Washington his pockets were bulging with telegrams of congratulations from all parts of the United States, many of them from prominent leaders of the Republican party.

Whether or not he will be reinstated as assistant to the attorney-general is a matter of speculation and also a subject concerning which Howard declined to venture an opinion, but the congratulatory messages received prior to his departure plainly indicated that powerful influences will be exerted with this end in view.

The final decision in the matter will probably be in the hands of John Marshall, assistant attorney-general, in charge of the personnel and appointive division. It was Mr Marshall who issued the order deposing Howard, without duty or pay pending disposal of the indictments brought at the special grand jury sitting in Biloxi, but the order of deposal came from others higher in authority.

Putting it explicitly, when Mrs Mabel Willebrandt, special assistan to the attorney-general, was negotiating the Biloxi indictments, the Republican party was pulling a Pontius Pilate act, trying to wash its hands of the innumerable charges of grafting in federal patronage, and frantically engaged in searching for a full-grown goat for the vicarious sacrifice. It so happened that Perry Howard was picked to play the role of goat, but Mrs. Willebrandt, for reasons that have not thus far been explained, did not return to Mississippi to finish what she had started.

Special Prosecutor Was Disconcerted

Hon. Miller McGilchrist, special assistant to the attorney-general at Washington, sent to Mississippi to direct the prosecution of Perry Howard and the four co-defendants was both surprised and disconcerted when the verdict of acquittal was returned by the jury.

It was Mr. McGilchrist's first journey into the South, his first experience with southern people, and, in addition to other handicaps, he was fighting off an incipient case of influenza throughout his stay in Jackson. In spite of this, he delivered a strong and forceful address to the jury, opening the oral arguments Thursday afternoon, and his address made a pleasing impression with the spectators, even if it signally failed to convince the jurors. He brought with him from Washington all of the documentary exhibits upon which the government based its case, and these were presented to the jury during the first stages of the trial but the verdict indicates that they made little or no impression.

When a friend remarked to Mr McGilchrist, just before he boarded the Panama Limited late yesterday that "southern white folks generally take care of their Colored folks," he accepted this as probably an accurate diagnosis of the verdict, and if he carries this idea back to the department of justice it will be just about as good an alibi as he can offer.

Real Psychology of the Decision

If the evidence had been more conclusive, if the testimony had shown beyond a reasonable doubt that Anslem P. Russell had actually paid $2,000 for the United States marshalship, and that the amount had been more or less equitably distributed between Perry Howard and other Negro Republicans, it is very doubtful whether the jury would have convicted any of the defendants.

In brief, the real psychology of the trial was simply this: The twelve jurors, all Democrats, had in the background of their minds something more important than the guilt or innocence of the accused parties. They probably entered into the trial with a firmly established conviction that if a Republican party is to exist in Mississippi it is better to have it under the leadership of Negroes than white men; that the cause of white supremacy is less in peril with [illegible] Howard at the helm than it would be under the dominion of Lamont Rowlands, or any other white Republican now aspiring to political power; that Howard and his associates, following the time-honored precedent, will be content to distribute federal patronage, and not concern themselves with building up a powerful party organization, whereas Lamont Rowlands and other leaders of the so-called lily white faction—which isn't lily white at all when subjected to the acid test of analysis—both hopes and aspires to establish in Mississippi a party that will seriously contend with Democracy not only in national elections, but state contests as well.

The Next Trial At Meridian Court

The next case in which Perry Howard figures, in event the government decides to continue the prosecution will be at the Meridian court term in March when J. G. Buchanan, former United States marshal, recently summarily removed from that office when he was indicted at the Biloxi court, will be arraigned for trial.

Government attorneys say that the Buchanan case is stronger than that presented against Howard by the Russell brothers, and attorneys for the defense venture an emphatic opinion to the contrary.

The case against Buchanan naturally belongs in the Meridian district, as he comes from that part of the state, but Judge Buchanan has intimated that if the defendant wants a trial at Biloxi during the January term in that city it can be arranged.

Able Attorneys For the Defense

Howard, Patton and the two Redmonds, evidently do not believe in "sending a boy to mill," for they employed three of the ablest criminal lawyers in the state, J. W. Cassidy of Brookhaven, James D. Thames of Vicksburg, and Edward Franklin of this city. The latter is a comparative newcomer in the courts in this section, having recently moved here from the Delta, where he established quite a reputation for his skill in handling criminal cases. Messrs. Cassidy and Thames have figured in some of the most notable criminal trials in the state.

Naturally it cost the defendants a rather nifty sum of money to employ three lawyers of this type. However, it is understood that friends of Howard in Washington and other parts of the country, contributed liberally to his defense.

Political - 1928

Office Holding

Mississippi

INDICTED

It was easy for a group of white politicians at Biloxi, Miss., to return an indictment against Perry Howard. It is a wonder such an indictment had not been returned several years ago. Mr. Howard, assistant United States attorney general, is too important a man for Mississippi. He has received too much recognition to suit the followers of Bilbo and Pat Harrison. They could never swallow the humiliation of a man of Mr. Howard's Race proving that, even in politics, he was a better man than the average white Mississippian.

He is charged with having sold federal patronage. That is what appears on the paper, but that is not the real charge against Perry Howard. He, like Walter Cohen of Louisiana, Ben Davis of Georgia and Bob Church of Tennessee, is charged primarily with not being white. But the Constitution provides no punishment for this offense, therefore another one had to be found.

But no one will take these indictments seriously. Even if Howard is convicted and sentenced, no one will believe him guilty. America has given herself too much of a reputation for injustice in that section of the country for anyone to believe that justice was intended in this case. If a state cannot identify anyone of two mobs of 300 persons each that dragged three men through Mississippi roads and murdered them in cold blood, she cannot give off much of an atmosphere of decency in this case.

Our sympathies are with Mr. Howard because Mississippi teems with corruption, with every form of barbarity and with the vilest hypocrisy that make a mockery of decent government. And because we knew Mr. Howard would be indicted soon or later if he remained in the jurisdiction of Mississippi exerting such power, we are not surprised. He had to be indicted; the maintenance of white supremacy demanded it.

HOOVER BLAMED FOR ARREST OF HOWARD

G. O. P. Nominee's Name Lugged Into Mississippi Case

"PERRY" INDICTED FOR $1,500 CONSPIRACY

Whites Claim He Received Money For Appointing U. S. Marshalls

BILOXI, MISS. — Perry W. Howard, Republican national committeeman for Mississippi and a special assistant to the Attorney General, Washington, D. C., was indicted for conspiracy by a special grand jury in Federal court here last Saturday.

The charge against him involves the alleged purchase and sale of U. S. Marshalship to A. R. Russell, white, for $1,500.

Others who were named in the same indictment returned against him are: S. D. Redmond, a physician and lawyer, and his brother, A. M. Redmond, a druggist, both of Jackson. They have been prominent in Republican politics in this state. S. D. Redmond is reputed to be one of the wealthiest men in Mississippi.

Purchase And Sale

The two Redmonds and Scott Hubbard, white, a deputy United States marshal, who was also indicted for the alleged purchase and sale of public offices, were taken into custody by a deputy United States marshal in Jackson, Monday.

An additional capias was also served on E. L. Patton, of Jackson, bringing the total number of charges against him to seven. Patton was one of the first to be indicted. An indictment was returned against him, J. C. Tannehill, white, a former deputy United States marshal, and W. E. Miller, white, postmaster at Wiggins, last Thursday. This indictment charged the sale of the post office at Wiggins. Tannehill and Miller are white.

Arrested In Jackson

Patton and Tannehill were taken into custody in Jackson last Friday and brought here. They were released in bonds of $10,000 each.

HOOVER BLAMED—

Patton has long been a familiar figure in Republican politics in the state. He has served on every state delegation to the Republican national convention from his state in the past 25 years.

The special grand jury which is conducting an investigation into the alleged bartering of Federal patronage was convened here last Wednesday by United States Judge E. R. Holmes. He acted under instructions from Mrs. Mabel Willebrandt, white, an Assistant United States Attorney General, who came here from Washington with an assistant to push the probe.

Race And Politics

The investigation has many ramifications. One aspect is political. Another is racial. Its purpose, it is commonly reported here, is to wrest control of the Republican party organization in this state from the hands of Negroes.

Three Investigations

There have been three previous investigations of alleged irregularities in patronage distribution in Mississippi. Post office inspectors conducted one, agents of the Department of Justice another, and a Federal grand jury in the northern district of Mississippi a third. None of these investigations, a congressional committee decided, disclosed any bartering of Federal patronage, and no effort to indict colored Republican leaders was made until the beginning of the presidential campaign.

Has Hoover's Approval

According to Senator Smith W. Brookhart, Republican, of Iowa, chairman of the subcommittee of the Senate post office committee, with whom Mrs. Willebrandt conferred in Atlanta, Ga., before coming here, the investigation has the approval of Herbert C. Hoover, the Republican presidential candidate.

In a statement last Friday, Senator Brookhart declared that full credit is due Mr. Hoover for the work in cleaning up the patronage situation in the South.

Four Were Delegates

Four of those under indictment here were delegates to the Republican national convention. They are: Perry W. Howard, A. M. and S. D. Redmond and E. L. Patton. They supported Mr. Hoover and voted for his nomination. If these men are corrupt now, it is pointed out, they were corrupt then, and there is a taint of corruption surrounding the nomination of Mr. Hoover.

Another aspect to the special grand jury investigation is the fight for the Democratic nomination for United States Senator from this state. Representative T. Webber Wilson of the sixth congressional district is opposing Senator Hubert D. Stephens for renomination.

White Supremacy

Mr. Wilson is making his fight on white supremacy. In speech after speech he has charged Senator Stephens with aiding Perry Howard and his associates in controlling Republican politics in Mississippi by conniving at their handling of Federal patronage.

Wilson was one of the principal witnesses before the special grand jury. When it was convened, he quit a campaign tour to come here and testify. The return of the indictments, it is believed will aid him in his campaign.

TWO INDICTED IN G. O. P. INQUIRY

Federal Grand Jury Ends Eight-Day Probe Into Sale of Patronage by Mississippi Politicians.

Biloxi, Miss., July 20.—(AP)—A federal grand jury concluded an eight-day investigation into federal patronage affairs in Mississippi today with the return of two additional indictments, one of which named a man hitherto not identified with the investigation. Court officials refused to identify the man or reveal his connection with the investigation pending his arrest.

The other indictment named Ed L. Patton, negro republican leader of Jackson, and brought the total of charges against him to nine. The latest charge against Patton is that he solicited $800 from B. B. Breeland, of Wiggins, for promoting Breeland's candidacy for appointment to the Wiggins [illegible] office.

Breeland, court attaches revealed, refused to pay and the appointment went to William E. Miller. Miller, with Patton and J. C. Tannehill, former deputy United States marshal of Summerall, is under indictment in connection with his appointment. They are charged with violating the law prohibiting purchase and sale of public office.

Patton also was named in an indictment for conspiring with Perry H. Howard, negro national committeeman from Mississippi, and a special United States assistant attorney general, S. D. Redmond, A. D. Redmond, Jackson negroes, and J. Scott Hubbard, suspended deputy United States marshal here, to violate the public office law in bringing about the appointment of A. P. Russell as a member of the United States marshal's force at Magee, in which payment of $1,500 was involved.

Howard, who was suspended from office when his indictment became known, the Redmonds and Patton will be tried in Jackson at the November term of court. Patton, Miller and Tannehill will be tried here September 4. Where the eighth man, indicted today, will be tried will be determined when he is arraigned following his arrest.

The grand jury's final report was presented and accepted by Judge E. R. Holmes without comment. Millar McGilchrist, special prosecutor for the department of justice, also refused to comment. He left here tonight for Jackson to perfect arrangements for the September trials, there.

G. O. P. COMMITTEE MEMBER INDICTED FOR U. S. JOB SALES

Perry Howard, Negro, Party Leader in Mississippi Charged With Conspiracy To Sell Offices.

Biloxi, Miss., July 16.—(AP)—Sensations forecast Saturday when the federal grand jury investigating methods employed by state republican leaders in distributing patronage adjourned for the week-end appeared with surprising swiftness today while the inquisitorial body continued to receive additional evidence from the scores of witnesses it has summoned.

Although the district attorney and other court attaches refused confirmation, from Washington it became known that Perry W. Howard, negro national republican committeeman from Mississippi and the acknowledged party leader in the state, had been indicted for conspiracy to violate the law prohibiting the sale of federal office.

Charge of Indictment.

The indictment specifically charged that Howard, Scott Hubbard, a deputy United States marshal stationed here; S. D. Redmond, his brother, A. M. Redmond, and Ed L. Patton, Jackson negroes, conspired and received $1,500 for the appointment of A. P. Russell, of Magee, as deputy United States marshal for the southern district. Russell, who has been summoned before the grand jury, served as deputy marshal from June until October last year, being succeeded by the incumbent, J. C. Buchanan. At present he is a rural mail carrier.

A capias for the arrest of Howard, a special assistant United States attorney general is en route to Washington, where he maintains headquarters, for service. Hubbard, the Redmond brothers and Patton were arrested in Jackson this morning. They posted $2,500 temporary bail for their release pending arraignment here tomorrow morning before Judge E. R. Holmes.

Patton's arrest today brought the of indictments against him to seven. He was arrested Saturday with J. C. Tannehill, former deputy marshal of Summerall, and William E. Miller, postmaster at Wiggins on a similar charge. Tannehill and Miller also will be arraigned tomorrow, their ap-

pearance before Judge Holmes today being postponed because of the magistrate's absence in New Orleans.

About All Witnesses Heard.

The grand jury slowly reduced the number of witnesses remaining to be heard. It is being assisted by Millar McGilchrist, special prosecutor for the department of justice, who was left in charge by Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt, assistant United States attorney general, on her departure yesterday for Washington. After remaining in Washington a short while, Mrs. Willebrandt said she would go to San Francisco for a meeting of the American Bar association, making part of the trip by airplane.

Patton in a statement issued today declared his arrest "political persecution and the work of disappointed office seekers." He said he had incurred the enmity of several men by endorsing the candidacy of Miller for the postmastership at Wiggins. He said seven other candidates for office had been appointed from a large field because of his endorsement.

NEGRO POLITICAL CHIEF LOSES JOB IN G. O. P. INQUIRY

Howard Ousted as U. S. Employee; Scott Hubbard Also Dismissed After Action in Probe.

Washington, July 17.—(AP)—Perry W. Howard, negro republican national committeeman for Mississippi, indicted in charges of conspiring to violate the law prohibiting the sale of federal office, was removed today as an attorney in the department of justice and held in $2,500 bond for trial at Jackson, Miss.

Scott Hubbard, deputy U. S. marshal, was also dismissed from office. Hubbard is under indictment in the same case.

Howard, charged specifically with being implicated in a deal whereby a place in the United States marshal's force in Mississippi, was given for $1,500, issued a statement declaring he was a victim of political enemies who "seek to have me crucified in the courts." The indictment returned at Biloxi by the federal grand jury has not reached Washington but the negro preliminary was arrested on a complaint sworn to by United States Attorney Rover.

Appearing before United States Commissioner Turrage, Howard waived hearing and gave bond for his appearance at Jackson for trial on November 5.

In his statement Howard charged that "my 'lily white' adversaries have enlisted the aid of powerful influences, material political and otherwise" and said he was "guilty of no wrong doing, directly or indirectly."

The negro leader who has fought white interference in the republican politics of Mississippi declared that he had for years urged the enactment of the law requiring appointees to make an affidavit that they had not given or promised to give any consideration for their appointment. He said he was a martyr for the cause of negro leadership and was willing to "pay the price of martyrdom."

SIX ARRAIGNED ON FRAUD COUNTS.

Biloxi, Miss., July 17.—(AP)—As a slow but steady parade of witnesses passed through the federal grand jury room here to add to the accumulation of evidence relating to alleged trafficking in a patronage by state republican leaders, interest shifted from what was happening behind the closed doors of the jury chamber to open court where six of the seven persons thus far indicted and arrested were arraigned for pleas.

His arraignment was accepted by Sidney E. Redmond, negro attorney of Jackson, as an occasion for a broadside at his political enemies whom he charged with bringing about the indictment of himself, his brother, A. M Redmond, Scott Hubbard, deputy United States marshal, and Ed L. Patton, negro republican leader. The four with Perry W. Howard, negro national committeeman and former assistant attorney general are charged with obtaining $1,500 for the apointment of A. P. Rusell to the southern district marshal's force last year.

Howard, the acknowledged republican leader in this state, was relieved of his official duties at Washington today under an indefinite suspension order by the department of justice. A similar order was issued against Hubbard.

The national committeeman in a formal statement declared he was ignorant of the charge made against him and said he was being made a martyr to the cause of negro leadership.

Redmond succeeded in obtaining an order from Judge Holmes transferring cases against himself, his brother and Patton from this to the Jackson district for trial at the November term of court. The Redmond brothers will not be arraigned until their case is transferred to Jackson, their appearance in court today being taken up entirely with the motion for a change of venue.

Plead Not Guilty.

Hubbard, in entering a plea of not guilty, raised no objections to trial here. J. O. Tannehill, former marshal of Summerall, and William A. Miller, postmaster at Wiggins, indicted jointly with Patton in connection with the appointment of Miller, also pleaded not guilty. The indictment against them charged violation of the statute prohibiting purchase or sale of federal office.

Redmond presented a lengthy motion to the court in support of his plea for a change of venue. He based his petition on counts ranging from "malice and factional politics" to violation of the fourteenth amendment because there were no negroes on that grand jury that indicted him, a situation he charged was prearranged.

"Testimony was obtained by the grand jury through threats, coercion and promised immunity," Redmond charged. The negro declared J. C. Tyler, former United States marshal here whom he termed "one of the conspirators" against him was in the jury room at the time the indictment against himself and his co-defendants was drawn. He also declared the presence of Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt, assistant United States attorney general who assisted the jury at the opening of its investigation was irregular.

NEW G. O. P. PROBE BY FEDERAL JURY LOOMS IN SOUTH

Second U. S. Inquiry Is Likely To Be Called in Investigation of Mississippi Job Sales.

Jackson, Miss., July 21.—(AP)—Indication that additional investigations are in prospect into how federal patronage affairs are managed by Mississippi republican leaders was seen in reports persistently current at the federal building here today that a federal grand jury would be convened in the early future at either Clarksdale or Oxford in the northern district of the state to resume the inquiry where the Biloxi grand jury left off following its discharge yesterday.

Warrant Is Issued.

While efforts at confirmation from the district attorney and other court attaches were unavailable, the reports had it that the attorney general's office in Washington was desirous of determining if there had been any irregularities in distribution of public offices in the northern district. The grand jury at Biloxi concerned itself exclusively with appointments made in the southern district. Eight persons, including Perry W. Howard, national republican committeeman from Mississippi, were indicted on charges of violating the law prohibiting purchase or sale of public office during the eight days it was in session.

George McClellan, republican leader of Newton, appeared before the United States commissioner late today and posted bond for $2,500 for his appearance for trial at the November term of court here on an indictment returned by the Biloxi grand jury.

Get Change of Venue.

McClellan is charged with conspiracy to violate the public office law. The indictment charges he connived with Howard, S. D. Redmond, A. M. Redmond, Ed L. Patton, Jackson negroes, and J. Scott Hubbard, deputy United States marshal of the southern district, to bring about the appointment of A. P. Russell, of Magee, to the district marshalship. Payment of $1,500 and traveling expenses to Washington was alleged to have figured in Russell's appointment.

Patton also was indicted with J. C Tannehill, of Summerall, and William E. Miller, of Wiggins, in connection with Miller's appointment as postmaster at Wiggins.

McClellan's codefendants in the case are to be tried here in November, having obtained a change of venue from Biloxi because of alleged prejudice. Tannehill and Miller are to be tried with Patton at Biloxi in September. All are at liberty under bond.

MARSHAL AND NEGRO 'BOSS' ARE ARRESTED

Charged With Purchase and Sale of Offices.

TWO OTHERS INDICTED

More Sensational Disclosures Expected as Result of Federal Grand Jury Probe at Biloxi. Defendants Out on Bond.

By The Associated Press.

BILOXI, Miss., July 14.—Sensational disclosures are expected from the federal grand jury here investigating distribution of federal patronage by state Republican leaders following the return before adjournment today of a fourth indictment against a person whom federal officials declined to name pending his arrest. The nature of the charge also was kept secret.

Two men, J. C. Tannehill, former United States marshal for the southern district of the state, and E. L. Patton, negro Republican leader, already are in custody of federal officers following their arrest in Jackson early today on six indictments charging "purchase and sale of public offices." An announcement from the district attorney's office late today said immediate trial will be sought for the men after their arraignment here.

Just Starting.

Indications that the grand jury has only commenced its labors was seen by the issuance today of upward of a score of subpoenas for witnesses to augment the upward of 200 waiting to be heard. The investigation is expected to continue through next week.

Although new developments are expected from the grand jury when it reconvenes at 10 o'clock Monday morning, Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt, assistant attorney general, who has been here assisting the grand jury, announced she will return to Washington to be at her desk probably by Monday. She is leaving the investigation in charge of Millar McGilchrist, special prosecutor for the Department of Justice.

Attorneys representing Alfred F. Cook, former postmaster at Leakesville, Miss., who was arrested yesterday and who is a witness yet to be heard by the grand jury, said today they intended to press for an immediate arraignment of their client and his release on bond. Cook is charged with having falsely entered sums of $200 each for Miss Sally Houston Peaster and Mrs. Eliza Green, Leakesville postoffice clerks, on his payroll report, setting forth they were for services rendered.

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Office Holding,

Mississippi.

REPUBILCAN LEADER BLAMES HIS ENEMIES

Redmond Denies Any Connection Position Peddling.

PERRY HOWARD SUPREME

Patronage Trials Enter Second Day at Jackson With Defense Offering Testimony to Prove Effort to "Frame" Leaders.

BY JOHN B. HUDSON.
Commercial Appeal Staff Correspondent

JACKSON, Miss., Dec. 11.—A factional fight in Republican ranks in Mississippi is at the bottom of the present patronage investigation, Dr. S. D. Redmond, Jackson negro physician-lawyer, testified here this afternoon in making a sweeping denial that he was connected with alleged bargaining of federal officers over appointment in Mississippi. Redmond, his brother, A. M. Redmond, negro druggist, Perry Howard, negro former assistant to the United States attorney general, Ed Patton, negro barber and J. Scott Hubbard, former deputy United States marshal, are on trial on charges of conspiracy in connection with the appointment of A. P. Russell as United States marshal in 1927.

Tried to "Frame" Leader.

Redmond took the stand in his own defense soon after the state had rested its case, marked by sharp cross-examination of Gus Woodcock, suspended bailiff of the Biloxi court, who testified that Russell, had approached him and offered him $1,000 "to help frame these negroes."

Counsel for the defendants introduced Gus Woodcock of Gulfport, bailiff at the special session of the Biloxi grand jury, when the indictments were returned, who testified that A. P. Russell had sought his aid in "framing" the negroes. Woodcock testified that Russell, on a trip from Gulfport to Biloxi, said that he "was going to get even with those —'niggers' if I do nothing else in my life." He had been offered $1,000 to help, but declined to take part in it, he testified.

Woodcock was appointed bailiff by J. G. Buchanan of Newton, who was ousted as United States marshal after his indictment at the November term of court in Jackson. Buchanan relieved Russell when the latter retired Sept. 1, 1927.

On cross-examination, Woodcock admitted paying a fine of $25 in federal court in Biloxi in 1925 on a charge of possession and sale of liquor, but denied a subsequent conviction.

A. P. Russell, in his cross examination earlier in the day, flatly denied that he had suggested a "frame up" with Woodcock.

The trial probably will continue through Thursday afternoon, counsel indicated tonight; the government resting its case shortly after 3 o'clock when the defense began putting on its witnesses.

S. D. Redmond was on the stand when recess came tonight, Lester Fant of Oxford, assistant district attorney, conducting the trial, declaring that he would require an hour or more to complete with the witness. Redmond was loquacious while on the stand and frequently had to be told to keep to his testimony.

He repeatedly characterized statements of Russell as being "absolutely untrue" or "false."

Russell, the former marshal, was on the stand when the trial reopened this morning. He identified a series of correspondence between himself and Howard with respect to the appointment of deputies, and admitted that in assuming office as marshal, he had executed an affidavit in which he swore that he had offered or paid no consideration for the appointment.

Yesterday he testified to having paid Howard $1,500 in currency on March 14, 1927, while in Washington, and a few days prior to receiving his appointment. During his cross examination, when confronted with a photostatic copy of his affidavit, he was asked if the affidavit was true when he swore to it.

"It was. That is, in that I had not given money for the purchase of the office. Howard had promised that the [illegible] paid when he made [illegible] collections the following year." He took no receipt or note nor had any of it been paid back to him, he testified.

Brother Also Testifies.

Albert S. Russell, brother of the [illegible] was the next witness. He corroborated much of the testimony given by his brother, having made the trip to Washington with him.

A. S. Russell is postmaster at Magee. This position was formerly held by his brother. The two brothers have had a "bitter falling out," contended defense counsel, in laying the predicate to impeach the testimony of A. S. Russell in an effort to show his antagonism against Howard. His brother, the counsel attempted to show, had requested Howard to have postoffice inspectors sent to Magee to check up on the postmaster. This line of argument was not carried far, and probably is to be taken up again later in the trial.

The government then put on Dewitt Walker, of Pinola, who drove the two Russells to Jackson several trips and who testified that he had heard conversations relating to "money" in connection with the office. A. L. Younger, hotel man of Washington, was put on to prove the presence of Russell in Washington, and S. L. Langston, cashier of the State Guaranty Bank of Magee, testified about money that had been given to Hubbard.

Hubbard, he testified, on Dec. 1, 1926, obtained a cashier's check for $1,600 payable to A. P. Russell. This money was received by making a note for $1,000 and giving a check for the balance. He also drew out $400 in currency, making a total of $2,000. The cashier's check was cashed into currency on Dec. 6, 1926; and on March 12, 1927, Hubbard executed a note for $1,100 and gave his check for $400, receiving $1,500 in currency. The government had contended that the $1,500 had been paid to Howard in currency in Washington on March 14, 1927.

Government counsel rested their case with the testimony of C. B. Sornborger, of Vermont, an employe in the Department of Justice since 1895, who, in a very precise manner, related the method by which appointments were made, referring always to Howard as "Mr." Howard. Howard, prior to his indictment, was an assistant to the attorney general of the United States. The Mississippi Republican boss was monarch of patronage in this state, he testified, not recalling a single appointmentin the Magnolia State which did not bear his endorsement.

Woodcock, former bailiff of the Biloxi court was the first defense witness. He had known "Prent" Russell for two or three years, he said, and, noticing him on a street corner in Gulfport, offered to give him a ride to Biloxi. On this trip, the two discussed the grand jury inquiry then starting, he testified, and it was then that Russell indicated his desire to "frame" those "niggers," he said.

Hubbard Somewhat Hazy.

Hubbard was the first of the defense witnesses to go on the stand. He had a hazy recollection of the transactions leading up to his obtaining the money for Russell, but was positive that nothing was said to him about a deputyship. In fact, at no time did he ever ask Russell waht he was doing with the money; what he wanted it for, or to even go to the extent of accepting a note or other security for the funds. Russell had just asked him for a loan of $2,000, and he had arranged it, he testified. Hubbard served as a deputy marshall until Biloxi special grand jury investigation, when the indictments were returned, when he was suspended.

S. D. Redmond was the last witness. He insisted that he paid all of his own expenses to Washington, and that none of the Russells had given him money. He paid for his own meals en route, and ate them in the dining car after others had finished, instead of having the meals served in the drawing room, he testified. Russell had testified that he paid for the meals and they were served in the drawing room.

Redmond, his brother, A. M. Redmond, and Ed Patton, were going to Washington on an all-together different reason than for the appaointment of Russell(testified Redmond. He had considerable property there, and because of a heavy rain the month before, he had to go and fix some damages, he said. He took his brother along to help him; Patton went because he was then engaged in the manufacture of some product in the medicinal line in Washington, Redmond testified. It was merely a co-incidence that they happened to ride the same train with the Russells. The Russells, he admitted, had urged them to go to Washington, but he told them he could not think of going to Washington to endorse a man, he said.

Discussion of the anti-Federal patronage trafficking act came up in Washington simply because he had read something in a Washington newspaper that it had passed the Senate and would be signed by the president, he said. He knew he had political enemies back in Mississippi, and said at that time that he would not endorse another person. "I told them that I was through," he said.

"Why were you through?" asked Mr. Fant.

"Because I saw just such a situation as this arising, when I would be dragged into court by my political enemies," he testified.

"Do you mean to say that your political enemies are responsible for this?" asked Fant.

"Yes, sir; they are the basis of this charge."

Court then recessed until 9 o'clock tomorrow morning.

Political 1928

Office Holding

TRIBUNE
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.
JUL 21 1928

Howard Indictment Rocks Negro Clique

By FRANK CRAIGIE
(Special Correspondence of The Morning Tribune)

BILOXI, Miss., July 20.—The black-and-tan Mississippi Republican organization was shaken from top to bottom this week when the special federal grand jury sitting in Biloxi made known its indictment of Perry W. Howard, negro national committeeman and assistant to the United States attorney-general, on charges of trafficking in public offices.

From Howard's dingy and dusty law office, three blocks distant from the White House and five blocks from the offices of the Department of Justice, have issued since 1921 the orders regulating federal patronage in Mississippi, and the receiving station has been the drug store in Jackson, Miss., operated by Augusta Maine Redmond, one of Howard's two half-brothers, named for a New England capital city by some freak of negro choice that Redmond himself cannot explain. This man is the "A. M. Redmond" whose name has been indexed several times in the records of the Department of Justice.

Howard, in the halls and corridors of the Justice department, at Vermont and Fifteenth street, earns his $6,000 a year without open conferences with prospective Mississippi office holders. Job hunters are referred to the low-ceilinged office whose dirty windows overlook the stately breadth of Pennsylvania avenue. There Howard riffles the decks and stacks the cards that put Mississippi white men into office or drag them out.

Many men have told in the last week their stories of the Jackson negro drug store.

One unsophisticated aspirant for a postmaster's appointment related how he was told that "A. M. Redmond" was the man to consult before he could be "endorsed." Knowing nothing of Redmond, the aspirant addressed him by letter as "My dear Mr. Redmond."

Redmond, replying by return mail, fixed an hour for a meeting in Jackson. The aspirant had to obtain the help of two policemen to find Redmond's address. He came upon the sub-dictator of patronage selling patent medicines behind a negro drug store counter. He stopped there, and entrained for home.

Many others, records of the Department of Justice and indictments returned here within the last few days have shown, did not stop when they found they were dealing with negroes.

Half-brothers, born of the same mulatto mother, are Perry Welbon Howard, Sidney Dillon Redmond, and Augusta Maine Redmond.

Have Much White Blood

The two Redmonds have the high cheek bones of the Indian race. Howard looks like a sunburned Anglo-Saxon. Sidney Redmond and Perry Howard have clear light blue eyes. Augusta Redmond is brown-eyed and has a tiny black mustache of the Chaplin type. All three apparently are seven-eighths white, and complicated stories of their ancestry are told by men who have lived near the Howard and Redmond families for 50 years.

Edward Lucius Patton, indicted jointly with Howard in connection with the jobbing of a southern Mississippi marshalship for $1,500, is a black negro, short of stature, untidy in dress, fond of whisky, and inordinately vain. In an interview here this week, he said when asked to describe his present occupation: "You may say that I am a potential factor in Republican party affairs in Mississippi."

Thin-lipped, and with puffs under his squinty eyes, Patton did not look pleasant when he said that "disgruntled applicants for office, who failed to measure up to the mark of probable efficiency" were behind the Biloxi grand jury inquiry.

Patton is so unpopular in southern Mississippi, and is so convinced of his unpopularity that he requested a change of venue for his September trial because he claimed he would be "railroaded" in the Biloxi district.

Untouched so far by the federal inquiry are two negro men and one negro woman, known for years as Howard's adherents.

Descendant From Davis' Slave

In the little negro town of Mound Bayou, in Bolivar county, live E. P. Booze and his wife, Mary C. Booze, the latter of whom is Republican national committeewoman from Mississippi. The Booze woman is a daughter of the late Isaiah T. Montgomery, highly respected delta negro, one of the slaves of Jefferson Davis, president of the Confederacy, and later a member of the Mississippi constitutional convention of 1890. Montgomery founded the town of Mound Bayou.

Booze was named by Department of Justice investigators in 1925 as being Howard's chief "collector" in northern Mississippi.

The third negro so far unsullied by the grand jury inquiry is W. L. Mhoon, whose named is pronounced "Moon," former law partner of Howard on the same Farish street in which stands the Redmond drug store.

Mhoon is a light-skinned negro of the Hebraic type, so nearly white that thousands of white men have greeted him as "Mr. Mhoon" before his identity was revealed to them. He also in indexed in the Department of Justice investigation conducted in 1925 by Operatives F. J. Blake and T. M. Daniel, the former of whom has been in service here since the beginning of the grand jury inquiry.

The Blake-Daniel report, suppressed by the Justice department until dragged into light by Jeff Busby, Mississippi congressman, on March 10, 1926, embraced more than 30 affidavits touching on the sale of postoffices in Mississippi from the Delta to the Gulf Coast. Henchmen of Howard were named as recipients of sums ranging from $200 to $1,200 for sales of postoffices, but Howard himself was named only in connection with the payment of $450 for a postmastership at Magee, Miss., which town came into the limelight in the present investigation as the home of A. P. Russell, rural mail carrier, for whose short-lived term as United States marshal last summer Howard was alleged in indictment to have received $1,500.

Candidates Double-Crossed

Evidence of double-crossing of candidates was plain in the 1925 investigation, and has been plain in the grand jury inquiry here.

Patton, in his alleged handling of the Wiggins, Miss., postoffice appointment, was charged with having taken money from Lorraine A. Krohn, now resident of Magee, for Patton's "endorsement" of Krohn for the Wiggins postmastership. William A. Miller obtained the appointment, and Krohn had a charge of several hundred dollars to charge to experience. Miller was indicted jointly with Patton in the Wiggins case, and so was John C. Tannehill.

Tannehill, a resident of Sumrall, Miss., was a deputy marshal when Cleveland was President, and later was an internal revenue agent. He and the negro Patton were inseparable companions in daylight hours during the Biloxi inquiry.

The technique of the Mississippi negroes and their white associates in handling federal appointments was as simple as the recital of the alphabet.

Howard, on his protected throne in Washington, knew when Mississippi postmasterships, marshalships and attorneyships would be open. Postmasterships generally were left to the "field agents," like the negro Patton and his white lieutenants. The bigger postmasterships, in Mississippi's important cities, were beyond the reach of Howard's gang because candidates for such offices as a rule were men of previous business standing and proved integrity. Such appointments were marked with the Howard O. K. at Washington, perhaps with reluctance, but Howard invited no open conflict with entrenched Democrats or strongly fortified "lily-white" Republicans.

Now that Howard is indicted and suspended from office pending the final outcome of the Biloxi inquiry, and several of his zone and field officers also await the convening of September and November federal court terms, the question has been asked from a thousand quarters:

"Why Perry Howard?"

Perry Howard came into his office of assistant to the attorney-general of the United States in 1921, during the administration of Warren G. Harding, and at the height of power of Harry L. Daugherty of Marion, Ohio, as attorney-general.

Howard was retained in office after President Coolidge had been informed at least three times of the intimate details of the Department of Justice inquiry into Mississippi patronage.

The man who made a political power of Howard was Senator William M. Butler of Massachusetts, chairman until the late Kansas City convention of the Republican national committee, of which Howard was Mississippi committeeman and the Booze woman the Mississippi committeewoman.

Butler and President Coolidge, both with full knowledge of the Department of Justice report, kept Howard in office. Butler went so far as to direct that no Mississippi appointment of any character would be recognized unless it bore the O. K. of Howard.

Butler stood virtually in the same relation to President Coolidge as personal advisor that Colonel House stood to Woodrow Wilson.

Perry Howard, Mississippi negro, was a favorite.

Congressman Jeff Busby of Houston, Miss., ripped the lid off the Howard situation in a speech before the House of Representatives on March 10, 1926, several months after Operatives Blake and Daniel had filed their report with the Department of Justice.

Busby fought Howard in House committee and on the House floor, and in Senate committee and through adherents on the Senate floor from March 10 until December 11, 1926, when President Coolidge signed the bill prohibiting trafficking in public offices, which had never been a crime until that day.

Howard said Busby opposed him because he had given an appointment to an opponent of a Busby relative. Busby asserted that he was fighting for a cleaner Mississippi, and for extermination of corruption and graft in federal patronage.

Busby nearly won his fight in the afternoon of July 2, 1926, when he got unanimous consent to pass his patronage bill through the co-operation of Senator Hubert D. Stephens of New Albany, Miss., who called up the measure for vote.

Although there was ample time for the presiding officers of House and Senate to sign the bill and send it to President Coolidge for his signature, the measure remained anchored, and the Congress recessed the next day until its winter term, with the patronage bill still open.

In the five months from the recess of Congress until its reconvening in December, Southern negroes mopped up. All "pending cases" were settled. Jobs that might have been worth $1,500 went for $100 in the last days of the rush.

Secure in the offices of the Attorney-General of the United States, Perry Welbon Howard never blinked an eyelid. The federal act of December 11, 1926, meant nothing to the Mississippi patronage referee, backed by an Attorney-General, a chairman of the Republican national committee and a President of the United States.

The Redmonds and Patton continued to function in the little negro drug store in Jackson, Miss., and the Pennsylvania avenue law office continued to receive its white visitors from Mississippi, hunting jobs and evidently willing to pay for them.

WANT TO DISBAR MHOON.

Negro Attorney's Record Being Investigated at Jackson.

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 20.—The same committee of the chancery court bar appointed by Chancellor V. J. Stricker, to investigate the bar records of S. D. Redmonds and son, negro attorneys, has been instructed to investigate the record of W. L. Mhoon, negro lawyer of Jackson and partner of Perry W. Howard, negro, assistant United States attorney general. Howard is under indictment in connection with frauds charges investigated by the Biloxi grand jury recently, which indicted a number of parties for violation of the law forbidding trafficking in public offices.

S. D. Redmond and son, both practitioners of the Jackson bar, were brought to bar by a resolution of disbarment filed some weeks ago and predicated principally on the indictments of the Biloxi court. Mhoon was not included in the original disbarment resolution, but has been added since. It is understood that there will be no action taken in the Hinds County chancery court, where the disbarment proceedings are pending, until after the action taken in federal court against the parties implicated.

MOVE TO OUST PERRY HOWARD FIRED IN MISS.

Lily White Freely Says He Will Go Following Election Results

Special

JACKSON, Miss., Nov. 8.—Because of a factional disagreement two sets of Republican electors were on the official ballot and under a ruling Tuesday by the Attorney General and Secretary of State the ballots, in so far as electorial votes were concerned, were counted as if three party candidates were in the field. The official ballot carried no party designation over the electors, the Democratic heading the ballot, with the lily white Republican electors of the Sheldon faction next, and those of the faction led by Perry W. Howard at the bottom.

White Republicans Wednesday freely indicated that the regime of Perry Howard, national committeeman is near an end, and that Lamont Rowland, who acted as chairman of the ways and means committee of the party, will be recognized by the national committee before the end of the year.

The Republicans got their largest vote since 1870 with 22,000 for Hoover and 98,000 for Smith. It was rumored around Jackson that an entire state ticket will be offered by the Republican party three years hence.

Federal Jury May Hear New Patronage Charges

JACKSON, MISS., Aug. 6.—(AP)—A federal Grand Judy will be called upon to investigate additional charges of patronage when it meets at Biloxi on Sept. 4, E. E. Hindman, United States district attorney, announced here today.

While the district attorney declined to reveal the nature of the charges to be investigated, it was learned at the federal building that the Department of Justice has been inquiring into the manner in which at least three postmasters in the Biloxi division of the Southern district obtained their positions.

The investigation by the Department of Justice was launched after the recent session of the Grand Jury at Biloxi which returned indictments against eight persons, charging them with violating the statute relating to federal patronage.

NEW YORK WORLD

JUL 16 1928

Postmaster at Wiggins, Miss., Arrested and Jailed in Biloxi

Special to The World

BILOXI, Miss., July 15.—J. C. Tannehill, former United States Deputy Marshal, and E. L. Patton, Negro Republican leader in the State of Mississippi, will appear before Judge E. R. Homes in Federal Court here to-morrow for arraignment on charges mentioning "the purchase and sale of public offices." The two were arrested in Jackson yesterday by Karl Schneider, United States Deputy Marshal and brought to Biloxi. They were released on bonds of $10,000 each.

A third man indicted by the Grand Jury last week is also being sought.

Postmaster Parker at Wiggins, Miss., also indicted by the Grand Jury last week, was arrested by United States Deputy Marshal Schneider to-day and lodged in jail to await convening of Federal Court to-morrow.

The patronage investigation is reaching far greater proportions than had at first been expected. The penalty for the sale of public office is two years in the Federal Penitentiary.

Political-1928.

Office Holding.

PATRONAGE PROBE INDICTMENTS READ

Names Of Parties Not Disclosed By Grand Jury; Arrests Expected Today

BILOXI, MISS., July 13.—(AP)—Three indictments were returned late today by the Federal Grand Jury empanneled to investigate federal patronage dispensation in Mississippi. The names of those indicted were not disclosed.

The indictments were returned at 5:20 o'clock this afternoon after the Grand Jury had heard testimony of witnesses for two days. It was indicated arrests might be made tomorrow.

Deputy Marshals of J. G. Buchanan, district marshal here, who announced that the three indictments had been returned, declined to make public the names of those indicted.

It was understood, however, that the persons indicted were "not" in Biloxi today and were not residents of the immediate Gulfport district.

It became known today that an additional writ of ducea pecum was expected to bring here tomorrow to testify before the special Grand Jury J. T. Thomas, Grenada, Miss., banker, who was instructed to bring with him correspondence dating from July 1, 1926 to July 10, 1928, between Thomas and Senator Pat Harrison, of Mississippi and between Thomas and Perry W. Howard, assistant attorney general and Republican National committee man from Mississippi.

This correspondence was said to relate to appointments to government positions and to appointes to such offices in Mississippi, including post offices and to their personnel during that period.

The process, it was made clear, was "not" directed toward Senator Pat Harrison himself.

In a conference between newspaper men late today and Judge E. R. Holmes, the court's presiding officer and Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt, assistant United States attorney general, Mrs. Willebrandt requested the correspondents to refrain when practicable from reporting the issuance of writs or orders which might embarrass persons expected as witnesses before the Grand Jury or which might cause the public to consider such prospective witnesses involved in transactions in which they might be innocent.

The Grand Jury will continue it's deliberations tomorrow with many witnesses still to testify.

AIMS BLOW AT PERRY HOWARD

Mississippi Democrat Asks to be Allowed to Give Graft Evidence

HOUSTON, Miss., July 11.—Representative Jeff Busby (Dem.) Mississippi, aimed another of his periodic attacks at National Republican Committeeman Perry W. Howard, this week in a letter addressed to the Brookhart Senate Patronage Investigating Committee at Atlanta, Ga. In his letter he asked to be allowed to appear before the committee to present evidence of federal patronage in Mississippi.

Busby did not refer directly to Mr. Howard, but he spoke of a letter addressed to the national committeeman from Postmaster General Harry New, which letter he said stated: "It was however indubitably shown that certain individuals who have been connected with the organization in Mississippi in the recent past stand convicted of having accepted money and not only that, but having most assiduously solicited it from candidates for office."

Busby has frequently alleged on the floor of the House that the sale of federal positions has been corrupt, open and notorious, in the State of Mississippi. In most instances on these occasions he never failed to openly assail Mr. Howard a being guilty of office bartering, but his accusation has never brought the slightest blight upon the federal officer.

NEW YORK AMERICAN

JUL 14 1928

THREE INDICTED IN MISSISSIPPI JOB BARTERING

BILOXI, Miss., July 13 (AP).—Three indictments were returned late today by a grand jury investigating Federal patronage dispensation in Mississippi. The names were not disclosed.

The indictments were returned after the jury had heard witnesses two days. It was indicated arrests might be made tomorrow.

Mississippi.

It became known an additional writ was expected to bring here tomorrow, to testify before the grand jury, J. T. Thomas, Grenada, Miss., banker, who was instructed to bring with him correspondence dating from July 1, 1926, to July 10, 1928, between Thomas and Senator Pat Harrison, of Mississippi, and between Thomas and Perry W. Howard, negro assistant attorney-general and Republican national committeeman from Mississippi.

The process, it was made clear, was not directed toward Senator Harrison himself.

The grand jury will continue its deliberations tomorrow, with many witnesses still to testify.

WASHINGTON, July 13.—Herbert Hoover is solidly in support of the investigation of the barter and sale of Federal jobs in the South, it was learned today.

Senator Smith W. Brookhart (R.), of Iowa, chairman of the Senate committee in charge of the inquiry, made this known as he prepared for further hearings. He said:

"Secretary Hoover has backed this investigation with his approval. The committee has made a good start. If conditions as alleged are proved, they will be cleaned up."

The committee is investigating charges that both Democrats and Republicans have exacted political contributions from those seeking post office and other Federal berths and that these contributions have been required of job holders in order to stay in the service.

Added significance in the move for a thorough cleaning up of alleged patronage "graft" was seen in the trip of Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt, Assistant Attorney-General, to Mississippi to launch a Grand Jury inquiry into charges of Federal patronage in that State.

Senator Brookhart's investigation thus far has dealt only with conditions in Georgia, although it will be extended to other States.

Mrs. Willebrandt's move was taken as evidence that both President Coolidge and the Republican nominee want a housecleaning of patronage wire-pulling below the Mason-Dixon line.

Sale Of Office Probe Started By Grand Jury

Federal Inquisitors To Investigate Patronage Distribution

Negro Plays Part

Mrs. Walker Is Directing Inquiry At Biloxi

BILOXI, MISS., July 12.—(AP)—Organization of a federal grand jury of 18 men was completed in southern district court here today, and although not specifically charged to do so by Judge E. R. Holmes, immediately launched into an investigation of distribution of federal patronage in Mississippi, with the nominal head of the republican party in the state included in the scope of its investigation.

Shortly after the grand jury had retired to begin interrogation of witnesses, it became known from the minute books of the district attorney's office that witnesses had been summoned to testify as to events leading up to the appointment last summer of A. P. Russell of Magee as United States marshal for the southern district. The witnesses were instructed to bring to the grand jury room any correspondence they had with Perry W. Howard, negro assistant United States attorney general, and national committeeman from Mississippi. Howard is regarded as the republican leader in the state.

The witnesses included: Sims Williams, C. J. Keys and S. L. Langston, president, vice president and assistant cashier, respectively, of the State Guaranty Bank of Magee, who were specifically instructed to produce bank accounts, vouchers, deposit slips and record books of Russell, his wife and brother, to July 1, 1928. Russell served as marshal until last October, when he was appointed postmaster at Magee, which office he still holds.

Howard's connection with the Russell appointment was brought out in the grand jury's call for all correspondence between the Russells and the assistant attorney general or his office, relating to Russell's appointment.

At the time of organization of the grand jury, Judge Holmes indicated the marshal's office was to be excluded in the investigation by departing from the usual procedure of allowing district deputy marshals to serve the jury. He appointed H. N. L. Dickson and S. J. Blake, the latter a department of justice agent, as marshals for the duration of the special term of court.

Judge Holmes retired to his hotel to await a call from the grand jury without levying promised fines of $100 on 15 talesmen who failed to report for duty as members of the grand jury. Edgar Campbell of Biloxi and M. O. Brunson of Dasie reported today, and their excuses of not receiving notice in time to arrange their affairs was accepted, and they were added to the jury roster.

It was explained that the summonses were not mailed from Jackson until last Friday, and acknowledgment cards had been received in but a few instances. Two of the talesmen summoned are dead, it became known today, while others have removed from this federal district.

Judge Holmes indicated today that he would be guided by the district attorney in setting dates for trials on indictments returned by the grand jury. Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt, assistant attorney general, here from Washington to assist the grand jury, said an early trial would be asked.

Less than a dozen of the upward of 200 witnesses were to appear before the grand jury were heard today, indicating that the investigation would continue well into next week. W. T. Jackson of Jackson, foreman of the grand jury, said he favored the jury being in session nine hours a day, with an hour and a half adjournment for lunch, in an effort to complete its work quickly.

Congressman T. Webber Wilson of Laurel divided the afternoon session of the grand jury with officers of the State Guaranty Bank of Magee.

Congressman Wilson, who said he came here to testify voluntarily to his knowledge of alleged bartering for Mississippi postoffice appointments, was called by the jury about 3 o'clock, and remained in the locked rooms for nearly an hour.

United States Senator Hubert D. Stephens of New Albany, sponsor in the last congress of the Stephenson house bill, which provided punishment for irregular transactions in political patronage, also visited the court, after attending a session of the Mississippi Press Association.

The visit of Senator Stephens had no connection with the grand jury inquiry, the senator said.

Awaiting Arrest Perry Howard Refused To Resign

Bond For $2,500 Furnished As Trial Is Put Off Until Next November

WASHINGTON — Perry Howard was suspended from his post as assistant U. S. attorney general after he had refused to resign.

The Department of Justice notice to Mr. Howard Tuesday read, "you are hereby suspended from pay and duty in this department beginning today and until further notice."

Mr. Howard also forestalled the effort to have a warrant for his arrest served upon him by voluntarily appearing in U. C. court where a complaint was drawn based upon telegraphic advices from the U. S. attorney at Jackson, Miss.

Bond of $2,500 for his appearance in court November 5th, the day before election, was posted by Dr. John R. Hawkins, financial secretary of the A. M. E. Church.

Mr. Howard issued a statement Tuesday protesting his innocence. He said:

"The only information I have with reference to my indictment is what I have seen in the daily press.

MARTYR

"I am a martyr to the cause I represent, Negro leadership. Persecution is the price of martyrdom. Prison walls to martyrs are like palaces to the nobility. I am perfectly willing to be offered up, paying the price of martyrdom. A cause is certainly far greater than the individual. I have been pursued politically and in the civil courts and now my political enemies seek to have me crucified in the criminal courts.

"I have no definite idea what the charge is. I have not seen a copy of the indictment. Whatever it is, however, I know that it is only the back fire from the current of a righteous cause, and this cause will go on whether I am incarcerated or not. I am guilty of no wrong doing, directly or indirectly.

LILY-WHITES

"My lily-white adversaries have enlisted the aid of powerful influences, material, political and otherwise, and I am not surprised at what has happened. For seven years I have been the most hounded and investigated man in the United States.

"No man in the nation has done more than I to prevent anything that even smacked of the purchase and sale of public offices.

AFFIDAVIT

"I required of aplicants for offices in the State of Mississippi affidavits declaring that the applicant had given or promised to give no consideration of any kind for the office. This was at the beginning of my administration as national committeeman and prior to the enactment of the law requiring every appointee to file with the Comptroller General of the United States an affidavit 'stating that neither he nor anyone acting in his behalf has given, transferred, promised or paid any consideration for or in the expectation or hope of receiving assistance in securing' an appointment.

"I appeared before the House Judiciary Committee, as the records of that committee will show, and urged the enactment of a law requiring all appointees to make affidavits stating that they had neither given nor promised to give any consideration whatever for their appointment.

"I repeat that I have done no wrong. I have merely been accused as the result of an ex parte hearing. No one in public life is safe from accusations by his political enemies, and all fair-minded Americans will throw around me the presumption of innocence until I have been proven guilty.

"I have no fear of the outcome of a fair and impartial trial in Mississippi."

Leaders Believe Dept. of Justice Is Against Them

WASHINGTON, July 19.—Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt, Assistant Attorney General, who is now pressing for Grand Jury action against alleged office barterers in Mississippi, will be asked to go into a case at Clover, S. C., where candidates for mail carrier are said to have paid $300 apiece. This matter has been going the rounds of the Department of Justice ever since John W. H. Crim was Assistant Attorney General.

Negro leaders assert that the present drive of the Department of Justice in the South is not against offenders generally, but Negro leaders, the purpose being to oust Perry W. Howard of Mississippi and others from their high positions in the Republican Party. A demand for an inquiry into the South Carolina case is being made. Mrs. Willebrandt, who directs the service of United States Attorneys, will be given the facts in the Clover case and the action of Mr. Tolbert in passing it up.

INDICT PERRY HOWARD IN GRAND JURY PROBE

OF OFFICE BARTERING

Mississippi Negro Boss Is Charged With Selling Job.

ARREST EXPECTED SOON

Got $1,500 for Naming Deputy Marshal, Charge.

BILL NAMES OTHERS

Howard, Scott Hubbard, Deputy Marshal, S. D. Redmond, A. M. Redmond and Ed L. Patton Defendants to Latest Indictment at Biloxi—Many Witnesses Are Yet to Be Heard by Federal Jurors.

Special to The Commercial Appeal.

BILOXI, Miss., July 16.—Indictment of Perry W. Howard, negro assistant to the attorney general of the United States, Republican committeeman from Mississippi and prominent figure in national politics since the Harding administration, was viewed here today as the sensational climax of the grand jury investigation in progress here since last Thursday.

The report of Howard's indictment was confirmed by United States attorneys here this afternoon following receipt of Washington news dispatches, presumably originating in the Department of Justice, that announcement of the finding of a true bill already had been made there.

Howard, it was said, was one of four defendants named in an indictment returned by the grand jury here Saturday afternoon. One co-defendant, Ed L. Patton, negro Republican political boss of Jackson, Miss., was here awaiting arraignment before Judge Edwin R. Holmes tomorrow on charges growing from an indictment returned Friday in connection with a Wiggins, Miss., post office appointment.

The Others.

The three other defendants were S. D. Redmond and A. M. Redmond, both negroes of Jackson, and attorney and druggist respectively, and Scott Hubbard of Magee, Miss., a deputy United States marshal who had served here since the opening of the special term of court last Wednesday.

The five defendants, it was said, were indicted in connection with the appointment of A. P. Russell of Magee early last summer as United States marshal for the southern district of Mississippi, which position Russell held until October, when he was superceded by the present marshal, James G. Buchanan of Newton, Miss. Russell now is rural mail carrier at Magee.

Specific charges against Howard included a conspiracy count in which it was alleged he solicited and eventually received $1,500 in connection with Russell's appointment to the marshalship.

Deputy Marshal Hubbard and the negroes, Patton and the two Hubbards, were charged with having solicited and received money to defray expenses of a trip to Washington, D. C., for their indorsement of Russell's candidacy.

All the indictments were found in connection with the federal act of Dec. 11, 1926, to prevent purchase and sale of public offices, a statute which originated in the House of Representatives as the Stephens bill and which was sponsored in the Senate by United States Senator Hubert D. Stephens of New Albany, Miss.

Simple violation of the law is punishable by a fine of not more than $1,000 and imprisonment for not more than one year, or both.

Conspiracy to violate the statute is punishable by two years' imprisonment in a federal penitentiary.

The negro Patton was indicted here Friday in connection with indictments returned against John C. Tannehill of Sumrall, Miss., former deputy marshal and one time internal revenue agent and William E. Miller, postmaster at Wiggins, Miss. Patton and Tannehill were arrested in Jackson early Saturday by Deputy Marshal Karl Schneider, and Miller was taken into custody in front of the Buena Vista Hotel here yesterday by the same officer. The indictments against the three defendants in the Wiggins case were said to have been in connection with the unsuccessful candidacy of L. A. Krohn, formerly of Wiggins but latterly of Magee, Miss., who sought the office which later was secured by Miller.

Six defendants of the seven already indicted probably will be arraigned before Judge Holmes here at 10 o'clock tomorrow morning. The other defendant, Howard, was reported in Washington.

Expected for arraignment tomorrow were Patton and the two Redmonds, all negroes, and Tannehill, Miller and Hubbard.

Patton, Tannehill and Miller are at liberty on bonds of $2,500 each.

Arrested at Jackson.

The Redmonds and Hubbard were reported arrested at Jackson this morning by Deputy Marshal Howard. It was believed that trial of the cases arising from the Russell appointment would be held in Jackson, including the Howard trial, and that the cases in connection with the Wiggins postmastership would be heard here.

The grand jury disposed of 15 witnesses here today, but were faced by 35 or 40 more to be examined before adjournment, probably late this week. Judge Holmes, said to be in New Orleans today, was expected here tonight or early tomorrow morning.

Among the first of today's witnesses called before the jury was J. T. Thomas prominent North Mississippi banker, who came here from Grenada in response to a subpoena duces tecum requisitioning certain correspondence between him and Senator Pat Harrison, and between Thomas and Perry W. Howard in connection with federal appointments in Mississippi.

Justice W. H. Scott of the supreme court of Mississippi was here as an interested inspector in the federal building today.

ACTION IS TAKEN TO DISBAR HOWARD IN MISSISSIPPI

Questionable Action Taken to Disbar Men Before They Are Given a Hearing in Court.

Jackson, Miss., July 25.—(AP). A committee to report to chancery court here on the desirability of instituting disbarment proceedings against Perry W. Howard, Negro national Republican committeeman from Mississippi, and several associates for their part in the federal patronage scandal, revealed by a grand jury at Biloxi a week ago, was appointed here today by Chancellor V. J. Stricker.

The investigation directed at Howard, S. D. Redmond, A. M. Redmond and W. L. Mhoon, all Negroes and members of the Jackson bar. Mhoon was not indicted by the grand jury. He was included in the investigation because of his long association with Howard in a law partnership.

The committee, composed of Chalmers Potters and P. H. Eager, Jr., of the Jackson bar, was instructed by Chancellor Stricker to submit their report at their earliest convenience.

Howard and the Redmond brothers were indicted with Ed L. Patton, Negro Republican leader, of Jackson, and J. Scott Hubard, suspended deputy United States marshal, of Biloxi, for conspiring to violate the law prohibiting sale of public office in connection with the appointment of A. P. Russell as United States marshal for the southern district of Mississippi, in which $1,500 is alleged to have been received by the conspirators. Howard was suspended from his post of special assistant United States attorney general when his indictment was announced in Washington.

Political - 1928

Office Holding

SEEK TO DISBAR HOWARD

8/4/28

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 2.—Steps, designed to disbar Perry W. Howard, National Republican committeeman from Mississippi, and his associates as members of the Jackson bar were taken here Wednesday when a committee was appointed by Chancellor V. J. Strickler of the Seventh Chancery District to look into the fitness and character of the Negro attorneys.

The reason given for the effort to disbar Attorneys Howard, S. D. Redmond and Sidney Redmond, was the indictments secured against them for trafficking in federal patronage. W. L. Moon, one of the foremost Negro lawyers of this section and for many years the law partner of Attorney Howard, is also included in the list.

The action on the part of the bar association follows closely in the wake of the Biloxi trial, which resulted in the indictments and is looked upon as an effort on the part of the whites to discredit the Negro attorneys and further hamper the leadership of Perry W. Howard in political affairs of the Republican party in the state of Mississippi.

In a statement made public last week in Washington, Attorney Howard declared that he had no fear of conviction and described himself as a martyr to Negro leadership. Attorneys Redmond and Moon have been closely associated with Mr. Howard and have taken a leading part in Republican politics in this section. In fact, the former was largely responsible for the anti-lynching plank encouched in the G. O. P. platform.

REDMOND DEFENDS RECORD

Declares Patronage Charges Wholly Untrue

ASKS SPEEDY TRIAL

Special to Journal and Guide

Jackson, Miss., Aug. 1—In a statement here Sunday, Dr. S. D. Redmond, physician and attorney, under indictment with Perry Howard, Republican national committeeman for Mississippi, and six other prominent Republicans in this State, declared that he had asked Judge Holmes for a speedy trial and that it will take but a few minutes for him to establish his innocence.

Dr. Redmond asked the public to suspend judgment until both sides of the case have been heard.

Redmond's Statement

"The indictment against me," he said, "charges that I conspired to have money paid to Perry Howard in consideration of the appointment of A. P. Russell as United States marshal. This is as false as falsity itself. There never was a charge more wholly untrue in the history of mankind."

He stated that there is not a man in Mississippi who knows him, who would believe that "I would be so big a fool as to violate the law by committing an infamous crime in order to get money for myself, to say nothing of doing such a thing in order that some one else might get money."

He explained that he endorsed Russell for United States marshal for political reasons, Russell having deserted the Mulvihill faction for the Howard faction.

"If Perry Howard ever received or agreed to receive a dollar from Russell or any one else," Dr. Redmond said, he knows nothing of it, "but in view of Howard's position relative to such matters in the past, I cannot believe for my soul that he would have accepted a penny from anyone. I do know it to be a fact that he has always put forth every possible effort conceivable so far as I could discern to see to it that the law relating to such matters was not violated in any way whatsoever."

Had Little To Do With Patronage

Prior to the passage of the law to prevent the purchase and sale of public offices, under which the indictments were returned, Dr. Redmond says he had as little as possible to do with patronage distribution. Since the passage of the law on December 11, 1926, he states, he has had nothing whatever to do with any patronage matter.

"I have written Judge Holmes," he said, "and asked for a speedy trial. I have nothing whatever to fear. I will have no trouble whatever in establishing my innocence within a few minutes." He added that "I am not a violator but a strong advocate of the enforcement of all laws.

Mississippi

Perry Howard A Victim of His Color: Miller

BY KELLY MILLER

In the Negro's universe of political discourse Perry Howard is no longer a personality but a symbol. His political undoing is not on account of his deserts but of his race. His consummate Mississippi politician had reached the highest pinnacle of political eminence attainable by a colored aspirant. He is a member of the National Republican Committee representing his state and his party in its ultimate political council. Not only so, but his love for loyalty to and his service in behalf of his party is unsurpassed. He holds the ranking appointive position of his race under the Harding and Coolidge administration. He supported the triumphant moment, in the twinkling of an eye, this loyal prince of his party is made to taste of the cup of humiliation to its very dregs. The reason alleged is technical transgression of a law which has been transgressed from time immortal and yet this man has been summarily discarded by the party which he loved and the administration which he served. If Perry Howard had been dealt with on the level merits of his deserts his race, though chagrined, would have uttered no word of complaint. If the Grand Old Party had made up its mind to clean out the Augean stable of corruption which, it is alleged it has been admired for the past two administrations and if the undoing of Howard had been but an incident in tihs process of purification we would have said sorrowfully. "Let him take his medicine along with the other evil doers." But such does not seem to be the case. Corruption and rumors of corruption have tainted the political atmosphere for the past two administrations The orthodox and dominant element in the Republican Party has remained dumb and articulate. The Democrats have hurled denunciations and reproachful taunts at their said to be corrupt adversaries to their hearts content and yet neither the administrations nor its sponsors have been known to utter a mumbling word. There has been no voice of righteous indignation nor Rooseveltian denunciation of evil doing within the political household of the accused. Cabinet officers and high officials have been involved in the net of officials misdeeds and scandal toga has been dragged in the mire of imputed corruption. But in every instance we have had to wait the aggressive of the Democratic adversary to arouse legal action and public scorn. These charges involve millions of dollars and shake the very foundation of our faith free government. And yet Republican finger flies to the lip cantoning silence whenever an accusing word is uttered. But when Ben Davis is accused by his political adversaries of imposing a tribute of a few hundred dollars on office holders in Georgia when Walter Cohen is charged with the possession of a few quarts of super Volstead liquor; and when Perry Howard is alleged to have trafficed to to the extent of fifteen hundred dollars in federal patronage, the party arises up in its righteous wrath to get rid of corrupt Negro leadership. Here is a modern instance of straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel. The Grand Old Party seems to be resolved to convince the nation that it is determined to purify itself even if it must sacrifice every Negro official. This is what might be called visiting the sins of the Republican Party upon the Negro politician.

Deeply Resentful

The entire Negro race is deeply resentful of this vicarious affliction. Negro journals to a paper, are denouncing and condemning the punishment and humiliation of Howard with deep and bitter acrabity. The effect upon the alignment in the campaign cannot now be definitely ascertained. It seems certain, however, that the Republican Party will find additional difficulty in holding the race in its accustomed allegiance by reason of the crucifixion of the Mississippi leader.

The Negro's eyes are wide open. He is keenly sensitive of these sinister political manouevres. Step follows step with logical coherence. The obvious purpose seems to be the elimination of the Negro from directive voice in the high councils of the party, out of deference to the lily white sentiment. The gospel according to the lily whites, is that the Negro in the South should be allowed to vote, but should have no controlling say as to the management or manipulation of political organizations. In this wise they hope vaguely, perhaps vainly, to build up a functioning Republican organization in the Southern states. The dominent spirit of the party is veneering to this view. Recent actions of the party are easily interpreted in light of this purpose.

First come the refusal of Kansas City to lay equal stress upon the enforcement of the Fourteenth nad Fifteenth as upon the Eighteenth Amendment. This puts the country on notice that the Republican Party has weanel its own children conceived in the civil strife and born amidst political revolution. The Southern states which they have objected bitterly for a generation.

Second Step

The second step is seen in the eliminaion of the Negro as a coordinate advisor in the high concils of the party. And so on one pretext or another Ben Davis, Walter Cohen and Perry Howard must relinquish their hold upon the Republican machinery in Georgia, Louisiana and Mississippi. This hold must be broken not with blunt honesty of political necessity, but under the plausable guise of purity and righteousness.

The third step follows with carefully planned consecutiveness. Lascaon Slemp the erstwhile secretary to President Coolidge, is chosen to bring the Southern vote Democratic and lily white Republican into the fold. Mr. Slemp is the arch lily white who knows the wiles and guiles of the game. If laying office holders under tribute be the great political crime, then Perry Howard's transgression, if we are to believe documented charges, compared with Slemp's would be as a mole hill to a mountain. And yet Slemp is exalted and Howard is abased. So great i s the affliction and sacrifice that the Negro is forced to undergo in order that the Grand Old Party may build up effective strength in the Southern states. To the white voter, the marginal issue between the two parties is a rapidly arrowing one. If the Civil War amendments are to be eliminated from the issue of political controversy and if hte Negro is to be deprived of political equality in the councils of the Republican Party, then to him party differences are wholly obliterated.

There remains but one dominant issue of a moral nature which is determined, not by the platform of the parties which are distinguishable, but by the personal attitude of the contending standard bearers. The real issue after all is not so much Republican or Democratic, Hoover or Smith, but wet or dry.

—KELLY MILLER

Move Is Made To Disbar Attorney Negro G.O.P. Leader

Jackson, Miss., July 31.—(AP)—Action toward the disbarment of S. D. Redmond, negro attorney of Jackson and republican politician of the state, whose name with associates, has recently figured in the records of the department of justice, took a definite step here today when ex parte motions was entered on the docket of the chancery court.

The two local attorneys recently appointed by Chancellor V. J. Stricker to investigate the advisability of such procedure were associated with the county attorney, Hugh B. Gillespie, in filing the motion.

The committee in its motion sets forth three cases in which Redmond is alleged to have extracted "exorbitant and unreasonable fees" for his professional services.

NEW YORK WORLD

JUL 18 1928

SUSPEND HOWARD AS SARGENT'S AID

Indicted Negro Sees "Lily Whites" Back of Case

WILLING TO BE A "MARTYR"

Capital Negroes, Scenting Politics, Are Incensed

From The World's Bureau

WASHINGTON, July 17.—Perry W. Howard, Negro Republican National Committeeman of Mississippi, was suspended to-day as a Special Assistant to the Attorney General in the Department of Justice. This action was taken by Acting Attorney General William D. Mitchell on receipt of the indictment brought by the Grand Jury at Biloxi, Miss., charging Howard and others with conspiring to violate the law against the sale of Federal offices.

James W. Hubbard, Deputy United States Marshal for the Southern District of Mississippi, indicted with Howard, also was suspended.

Howard was arraigned before United States Commissioner Needham C. Turnage, and released on bond of $2,500, furnished by John R. Hawkins, for his appearance at Jackson, Miss., Nov. 5, to stand trial.

Howard gave to the press a statement, saying he had no "fear of the outcome of a trial in Mississippi."

Says He Is Martyr

"I have done no wrong," he declared. "I have merely been accused as the result of an ex parte hearing. All fair-minded Americans will throw around me the presumption of innocence until I have been proven guilty."

Howard said he was a martyr to the cause he represents—"Negro leadership."

"My 'Lily White' adversaries have enlisted the aid of powerful influences, material, political and otherwise, and I am not surprised at what has happened," he said. "For seven years I have been the most hounded and investigation man in the United States."

Negro leaders here are indignant over alleged discriminations on the part of the Department of Justice and the Brookhart investigating committee of the Senate. The present drive against Mississippi and Georgia, they assert, is for political purposes. A conference to express their resentment, and map out a plan of action for the fall campaign will be held in Chicago Aug. 8.

Bid For Anti-Smiths

They charge that the investigation is an attempt of the Hoover people to get rid of the Negro leaders in Georgia, Mississippi and Louisiana to make a bid for anti-Smith Democrats.

Also they assert, although there is ample evidence that the same sort of job bartering has been going on in Texas, Virginia, and South Carolina for years, where R. B. Creager, C. Bascom Slemp, and Joseph W. Tolbert, white men, are national committeemen and referees, nothing is being done.

As Washington friends of the Southern Negro leaders view it, the attempt to turn out the Negroes in Southern States and put in the "Lily Whites" has been revived.

There is considerable talk among the Negroes of retaliation by quitting the Republican Party. "We would rather support a fair Democrat than a Republican who discriminates against us," a Negro lawyer said to-day.

Fair Trial at Biloxi Impossible, Negroes Charge

BILOXI, Miss., July 17 (A. P.)—Judge Edwin R. Holmes granted a change of venue to-day to three Negro Republican leaders in Mississippi who are charged by a Federal Grand Jury with trafficking in Federal patronage. The case will be transferred to Jackson for trial on a date yet to be set.

Sydney E. Redmond, a Negro attorney, addressing the Court in behalf of himself, his brother, Augustus M. Redmond, and Ed L. Patton, all of Jackson, alleged that the Grand Jury's indictments charging "purchase and sale of public office" and the investigation now under way by the Grand Jury were prompted by "malice and factional politics."

He charged further that testimony before the Grand Jury had been obtained by "threats, coercion and promised immunity," and contended that a fair trial would be impossible here.

While the Federal Grand Jury continued to receive evidence of methods employed by Mississippi Republican leaders in dispensing Federal patronage to-day, speculation became rife as to what effect the investigation would have on sentiment which has kept a group of Negroes in control of party affairs in the State.

A bitter factional struggle has been waged within the party in the State for the past several years between the forces headed by Perry W. Howard and the "Lily-white" faction advocating white leadership.

NEW YORK TIMES

JUL 18 1928

SOUTHERN PATRONAGE SCANDALS.

The Brookhart committee, investigating Federal officeholding in the South, may be prevented from spreading Mississippi scandals on its records now that a special Federal Grand Jury at Biloxi has indicted PERRY W. HOWARD and others. HOWARD, an Assistant Attorney General of the United States and leader of Mississippi Republicans, can probably not be required to testify before a Senate committee while an indictment hangs over his head. Instrumental in obtaining the Grand Jury action was HOWARD'S colleague, Assistant Attorney General MABEL WILLEBRANDT; and already Washington, cynical in these things, is pointing out that the effect of the indictment is to defer testimony in the case until after the election.

Previous revelations have stressed with more force than for years the shocking state of the Republican Party in the South. HOWARD himself, known to the National Committee as "the smartest negro in politics," was on RUSH HOLLAND'S payroll at $250 a week while HOLLAND was gathering Southern delegates for Mr. HOOVER'S campaign managers. HOWARD it was who told the Senate campaign fund investigators that he would go through with HOOVER at Kansas City as soon as he saw he had not been "double-crossed": meaning that the "lily-white" faction in Mississippi had not been favored by the Secretary of Commerce. No double-crossing appearing, and HOWARD'S dominance in Mississippi being maintained, Mississippi did go through at Kansas City and was with the winner.

The specific charge against HOWARD is that he and others levied an assessment against a Deputy United States Marshal amounting to one-fourth of his salary in return for securing the man's appointment. This is violative of a strict statute. Trial may prove the innocence which HOWARD stoutly maintains; the fact of the indictment may check the Brookhart committee in part of its activity and keep some Republican scandals away from the public during the campaign; but more and more these facts are becoming apparent to the people of the country:

(1) Republican patronage and delegate conditions in the South must be made decent.

(2) Until they are, Republican national nominees, selected by Southern vote, cannot expect the support of the respectable white and Democratic elements in the South.

HOWARD TO FACE DISBARMENT QUIZ

Professional Associates Take Hand in Scandal

NEGRO IS G. O. P. LEADER

JACKSON, Miss., July 25 (AP).—A committee to report to Chancery court here on the desirability of instituting disbarment proceedings against Perry W. Howard, Negro national Republican committeeman from Mississippi and several associates for their part in the federal patronage scandal revealed by a grand jury at Biloxi a week ago, was appointed here today by Chancellor V. J. Stricker.

The investigation directed at Howard, S. D. Redmond, A M. Redmond and W. L. Mhoon, all Negroes and members of the Jackson bar. Mhoon was not indicted by the grand jury. He was included in the investigation because of his long association with Howard in a law partnership.

The committee, composed of Chalmers Potter and P. H. Eager, Jr., of the Jackson bar, was instructed by Chancellor Stricker to submit their report at their earliest convenience.

Howard and the Redmond brothers were indicted with Ed L. Patton, Negro Republican leader of Jackson, and J. Scott Hubbard, suspended deputy U. S. marshal of Biloxi, for conspiring to violate the law prohibiting sale of public office in connection with the appointment of A. P. Russell as United States marshal for the southern district of Mississippi, in which $1,500 is alleged to have been received by the conspirators. Howard was suspended from his post of special assistant United States attorney general when his indictment was announced in Washington.

PERRY HOWARD THANKS FRIENDS

JACKSON, Miss.—One former member of the department of justice left this city Friday night with a heart full of gratitude for a group of Caucasian Mississippians, and a present member of the department of justice departed in the same direction with a confused mind as to how it all happened.

Perry W. Howard, national Republican committeeman of Mississippi and a former member of the department of justice, who had just been acquitted of charges of bartering federal patronage, was all smiles and in a statement to the Jackson Daily News expressed his gratitude as follows:

"I am grateful to the white citizens of Mississippi for giving me a square deal. I am ready and willing at all times and under all circumstances to submit any action of mine to the calm and dispassionate judgment of the white men of my native state, confident that I will be fairly treated, and my heart was filled with gratitude for the exemplification of this faith as manifested in the jury's verdict.

Miller McGilchrist, special assistant to the attorney general of the United States, who had prosecuted the case and who took the same train, was neither as jubilant, grateful or composed as his former co-worker. He was thoroughly disconcerted by the verdict of the jury, and in his dilemma a friend of his, who knows the ways of the South and its folks, ventured to solve the problem for him by pointing out: "Southern white folks usually take care of their colored folks." Perhaps this will be Attorney McGilchrist's report to his chief as his explanation in not being able to convict Attorney Howard in what his associate, Mrs. Mabel Willebrandt, who investigated the case and secured the indictment, termed a cut and dried case.

Political — Office Holding — 6

Occupation, Wages, etc.,

New Jersey

ATLANTIC CITY CARRIES 534 ON PAY ROLLS

Employs Citizens in All Branches

Atlantic City, N. J.—Citizens of this city differ from the opinions that Chicago and New York citizens enjoy the largest political recognition, of any cities in the country. They claim they have more office and job holders and a larger municipal pay roll in proportion to population than any city in the country. A census made the first of the year showed the city's entire population was 80,000, of which 16,000 were members of the Race.

The highest representation is a member on the board of education who receives no compensation. Other workers are found in all the departments of the city. The lowest paid person on the city pay roll is a laborer receiving $5 per day. In the department of public works alone the yearly pay roll amounts to $22,700 with 14 officers and employees, among whom are one assistant health officer, one clerk in the office of the mayor, one sergeant-at-arms in the district court, cooks, janitors, three inspectors in bureau of health, one physician and two laborers.

REPRESENTATIVES IN ALL CITY BRANCHES

In the department of revenue and finance is one deputy tax collector and 30 men licensed to operate jitney busses upon the city streets, with average weekly income of $2,500 per man.

The department of public safety employes four detectives at $3,000 each, one corporal and 53 patrolmen, six policewomen and one police matron. These city workers yearly earn a total of $152,500. The fire department employes two engine company captains at $3,000 a year each, 12 men in two companies at $2,500, 15 men comprising a hook and ladder company at $2,350 each per year. These firemen totally receive $72,750 per year. The members of the hook and ladder company on June 1, 1928, receive an advance of $200 per year, they will advance to first-grade men, with salaries of $3,000 for officers and $2,550 for other members.

Other workers are employed as life guards, elevator operators, stenographers, watchmen, comfort station attendants, skilled laborers, foremen and assistant foremen, 83 public school teachers, school doctors, cafeteria employees, clerks and Atlantic county employs 40 men and women. At each session of the state legislature the following offices are filled by persons from this city: One assistant bill clerk, one doorkeeper and one gallery keeper.

MEMORIAL CLUBHOUSE COST CITY $350,000

The total of salaries paid officers and employees of Atlantic City is $874,597.50. The entire number employed is 534.

The All-Wars memorial to Race veteran is the only building of its kind dedicated to the same purpose in this country. An inspection of the premises will show a most modernly constructed club building, containing executice offices, auditorium, dormitories, gymnasium with shower and other baths attached, kitchen and dining room. The entire building is completely fitted with the most approved furnishings. It is surrounded by beautiful lawns and ample tennis courts. The city block square building represents an investment of more than $350,000 and it is maintained by the city government for its citizens to enjoy themselves.

Political

New Jersey

Office Holding

DR. ALEXANDER IS DELEGATE TO REP. NAT'L CONVENTION

Elected As Delegate At Large From N. Jersey; Mrs. Mention, Alt.

Trenton, N. J.—At a meeting of the Republican State Committee held her January 6, Dr. Walter G. Alexander of Orange was selected as one of the seven delegates-at-large to the Republican National Convention in Kansas City, and Mrs. Bessie B. Mention of Princeton was chosen one of the alternates-at-large.

Dr. Alexander is a former Assemblyman from Essex County, and in 1924 was an alternate-at-large to the Republican Convention in Cleveland.

Mrs. Mention has been active for several years in Republican politics among women. She is president of the Colored Republican Women's Conference of New Jersey, and has maintained a strong and aggressive organization among the women.

There is added interest in the position of Dr. Alexander because of the avowed candidacy of Senator Walter E. Edge for the Vice Presidential nomination.

George E. Bates, grand secretary of the Elks, was an aspirant, supported by Isaac Nutter of Atlantic City. Dr. Alexander was supported by Oliver Randolph, Assistant District Attorney, a member of the State Republican Advisory Committee.

ceived for these were small.

Included among those elected are Dr. W. G. Alexander of Orange and Mrs. Bessie B. Mention of Princeton who will be delegate-at-large and alternate-at-large, respectively. 5-26-28 Newspaper

At the meeting of the entire delegation on Saturday, Senator Walter E. Edge was made chairman of the delegation, and Dr. Alexander was selected as the New Jersey representative for vice president of the National Convention.

Dr. Alexander Elected Delegate at Large To Republican Convention

Newark, N. J.—In the Presidential Primary held in this state on Tuesday, May 15, the candidates pledged to the candidacy of Herbert Hoover for President were overwhelmingly elected. There were three Lowden district candidates, and one Dawes delegate-at-Large candidate, but the Dawes re-

Political - 1927

Office Holding

New Jersey.

Newark Girl Is Appointed Clerk

Courier 3-19-27

Patterson

Miss Helen A. Williams, youngest daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Carter L. Williams of 56 Miller street, Newark, N. J., who has successfully passed a civil service examination as typist, has been appointed to the clerical staff in the office of County Clerk Hon. John H. Scott. Miss Williams has the honored distinction of being the first colored young woman to be regularly appointed to a position in the county courthouse of Essex county. The citizens of Essex county, regardless of their political affiliations, are highly pleased at the induction of one of their race to a representative position in the county government.

Political—1928

Office Holding.

Just a Line on James A. Jackson

Former Billboard Writer Making Good in Government Position

SPLENDID WRITER

Had His Enemies, but Can Also Point to a Large Number of Friends

(By THE EDITOR.)

There are some readers of the theatrical pages of The Amsterdam News who will affect surprise at the trend of this article, believing that we have cherished a personal dislike for the subject of the article that would prevent us from all time from seeing anything worth while in the work of the former writer on the New York Billboard.

To the contrary notwithstanding, we want to call the attention of such people to the fact that we DIFFERED at times with Mr. Jackson, but that has never taken away from us a certain admiration we have had for the genial writer, who has theatrical knowledge at his fingertips that would be of great value to those laying claim to the same title but just as far removed as the sun is from the moon.

A recent publication claiming to be a real chronicler of the people in the theatrical profession and theatrical writers came upon the world as an abortive attempt when it failed to mention the names of James A. Jackson and Lester A. Walton. The claim will be made that these gentlemen are not actively engaged in chronicling doings of our people on the stage, but such a claim will be as valid as the reproduction of an article from the British publication known as the "Encore" and which a writer tried to pass off as his own in last week's publication of a local journal.

As an instance of the worth of Mr. Jackson we record the following, so that he who runs, and also walks, may glean some information on the ability of this man. James Albert Jackson was born in Bellefont, Pa., June 20, 1878, and is at present Special Agent, Domestic Commerce Division, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Department of Commerce, where he is assigned as Assistant Business Specialist.

After applying for a place as Commercial Agent and passing an examination for the place, which is a seventh grade one in the clerical fiscal and administrative ranking by civil service classification and the farthest one up the list ever taken as an original examination by a Negro except by those entering the consular service, Mr. Jackson passed with flying colors. And what is the experience that this man brought to obtain that position? His previous experience on the Billboard; service in the U. S. Military Intelligence during the war; service with the U. S. R. R. Administration; service in the railway police; his experience with the Standard Life Insurance Company of Atlanta, Ga.; his record for the period when, at the Jennings Real Estate Loan & Trust Co. in Chicago in 1912, he was the first Negro bank clerk in Illinois.

Not to be discounted was Mr. Jackson's newspaper service with the New York Globe and the Sunday Herald. The entire ground was covered in verification by investigators of the Civil Service Commission or by letters or reference submitted and verified.

Mr. Jackson has been a waiter, bellboy, minstrel interlocutor, and was first adjutant of the First Provisional Regiment as the old Fifteenth was known at the time its organization was agitated. This man was also one of two Negroes who ranged as Agent-in-Charge in the United States Military Intelligence and holds a gold badge for service at Muscle Shoals.

We regret that lack of space prevents us going deeper into the interesting history of James A. Jackson but what we have already said will serve to prove to many that he is worthy of as fine a place in the theatrical Hall of Fame as any of the nincompoops chosen for special mention in a journal which has failed to measure up to the standard. As a race we must learn to recognize men of worth, regardless of personal feeling, and not until such time will we be able to present a first line of real ability as measured by the standards of white men—a standard to which we all bow, regardless.

J. A. J.

One of the Best Informed Writers on the Negro in the Amusement World in This Country Now With the Department of Commerce.

New York.

Mrs. Williams Says She Is Committeewoman

Editor of The New York Age.

I read with much interest the editorial in your last issue, "That we have but two members in our group left on the National Committee."

I am taking this method of informing you, that I was duly re-elected Committeewoman member for Georgia, in the Convention at Kansas City, and again ratified by the National Committee which met at the Willard Hotel the following week. June 21, 128.

In fact, I am now serving as Georgia's Committeeman and Committeewoman until things are adjusted by the National Committee. I am thanking you for this correction in your next issue.

Moreover, you might remember, also, that I am the senior committeeman, having served with the late Henry L. Johnson, being elected before Mr. Howard or Mrs. Booze, for which I hold my credentials, badge, etc.

(Mrs.) GEO. S. WILLIAMS.
National Committeewoman for Georgia

Coolidge Recognizes Claim Of Mrs. Matthews

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 3.—M C. Latta, executive clerk of the White House, has just notified Dr Emmett J. Scott that the reques filed with President Coolidge severa weeks ago has been a member o the advisory committee of the Republican National Committee (upon the death of W. Clarence Matthews, Special Assistant to the Attorney-General of the United States) that Mrs. Matthews, his widow, be appointed to a clerical position in the classified service, without regard to civil service rules, has been approved, and an Executive Order to that effect issued by President Coolidge.

The order was issued by the President after concurrence by Postmaster-General Harry S. New and his statement that he would interpose no objection to Mrs. Matthews' appointment in the Post Office Department. She has been assigned to duty in New York City at a salary approximating $1,800.

P. O. Foreman

— George P. Heartwell —

An "A" record for twenty-four years is a hard one to beat. George P. Heartwell, 157 West 131st street, who has worked in the Grand Central Post Office for nearly twenty-four years and has never been five minutes late during this time, holds such a record. He has been appointed foreman in this station, and his new work started officially on July 1.

Mr. Heartwell, who for nearly two years has been a trustee of Mother Zion A. M. E. Church, came to New York from Petersburg, Va. He is the husband of Mrs. Telia Heartwell and the father of Miss Helen Heartwell, a vocal student at Howard University. His mother is Mrs. India Heartwell.

NEW YORK WORLD

SEP 23 1928

Federal Wages for Negroes Are Low

Republican Claim of Credit for Appointment Rouses Sharp Controversy

By Lester A. Walton

IN 1910 there were 22,540 Negroes in the employ of the United States Government, whose annual salary aggregated $12,456,760. These figures have appreciably increased in eighteen years, for in June of this year there were 51,882 Negroes on Uncle Sam's payroll, whose annual earning capacity was $64,483,133.

The last time a survey was made of the Negro personnel of the Federal Government, which was in June, 1923, there were approximately 51,805 workers earning $52,655 959 annually.

The statistical information has been made public by the United States Department of Labor.

Average Salary Is $1,243

Included in the list of Negroes in the service of the United States are 10,867 native Panamanians, whose combined yearly salaries total $6,810,229.

The average salary of these 51,882 Government employees is $1,243 a year. The list furnished by the United States Department of Labor shows that the 187 Negroes working at the Capitol earn $184,040 annually, an average salary of $984.

Other significant figures, giving where employed and combined salaries, are:

Agricultural Department, 1,086; salaries, $907,068, an average of $835.

Commerce Department, 686; salaries, $675,629, an average salary of $985.

Interior Department, 459; salaries, $473,940, an average salary of $1,032.

State Department, 76; salaries, $81,860, an average salary of $1,070.

Treasury Department, 5,407; salaries, $6,024,499, an average salary of $1,114.

Post Office Department, 25,390; salaries, $35,127,433, an average salary of $1,384.

There are ten Negroes working in the White House, whose aggregate salaries amount to $12,900.

The Statistical Bureau of the Department of Labor fixes a "living wage" at approximately $1,520. On this basis the average wage paid Negroes in the Department of Commerce is $535 short of this amount.

Rentals in Washington average about $10 a room. A modest five room house, by this process of computation, would make inroads on the employees' yearly income to the extent of $600.

The information given out by the Department of Labor dealing with the gain of Negro employees in the United States Government has precipitated a controversy among members of the race in Washington.

Among those taking part in the discussions is Thomas H. R. Clarke, an old resident and committee President of the National Equal Rights League.

Appointed Under Democratic Regime

"This release is designed to show how generous the Republican National Administration has been to the colored people of the entire Nation in the matter of appointments to Federal offices," charges Mr. Clarke. "It is intended to convey the impression that the Republican Party should be given credit for this showing, all of which is entirely wrong, for the very simple reason that by far the larger proportion of these employees were appointed under the Democratic Administration of Woodrow Wilson.

"It happens to be the incontestable fact that it was during the war period

when this expansion took place. Every department of the Federal Government was greatly enlarged and many new departments created. More than 125,000 new war workers came to Washington and were employed by the Democratic Administration then in power. It was at this time that the colored force of employees was more than doubled.

"The release fails to relate that while there are over 40,000 Federal employees in the City of Washington there are less than 250 colored men and women of clerical status within the nine departments of the Federal Government, exclusive of the city Post Office, which is local.

"Colored employees of the civil service have been appointed to positions as the result of competitive examinations before the institution of the photograph system of identification. These people won their appointments not through political favor but because they met the requirements of the Civil Service Law.

"The statement is made that in the Department of the Interior there are 495 employees of all grades and that they draw the combined salary of $473,940. This is intended to fool somebody, but it won't. Taking the combined salaries, and dividing it by the total number of race employees, we arrive at an average salary of $1.032 per colored employee—not hardly a living wage—not anything like the money earned by skilled laborers and mechanics.

No Negroes Appointed In Last Two Years

"Since the installation of the photograph system of identification no colored clerical eligible has been appointed in the last two years, although many were on the eligible list."

The Secretary of Labor, commenting in the release on the facts disclosed in his report, points out that:

"The tremendous gain of 29,265 workers and the lump total salary sum of $40,199,199, caused by the increase from 22,540 workers and $12,456,760 in yearly salaries in 1910 to 51,805 workers and $52,655,959 in 1923, is no more remarkable than the salary total of $64,483,133 for the fiscal year 1928, a gain of $11,827,174 over that of 1923 a year which represented the close of an era in the rapid recovery of prosperity from the economic ravages of the World War.

"The personnel totals of 51,805 for 1923 and 51,882 for 1928, while varying but little, following the return to normalcy after reductions of war time personnels, clearly show, when considered in connection with the monetary gain in annual salaries of the army of Negro civil service employees, that the efficient group of governmental workers made a large per capita gain in income, as well as a significant gain in numbers and occupations."

Chicago Post Office Superintendent Is Visiting New York

David B. Hawley, the highest ranking postal employe of color in the City of Chicago, spent the past week in New York and Brooklyn, combining business and pleasure. Mr. Hawley is the superintendent of the station post office, and has been in the postal service for 27 years.

He is also a member of the board of managers of the Ancient Order of Foresters, which is meeting in Troy, N. Y. this week, and it was partly on businss for this Order that he made the trip East. The Ancient Order of Foresters is an interracial fraternity and has six colored subordinate lodges out of a total of 75. Its membership is composed mostly of people of English and Scotch decent living in the Middlewest.

While in New York City, Mr. Hawley made a tour of the various branch post offices in New York City and was much pleased with the progress being made in this service by Negro employers. He was the guest of Superintendent Alexander King at Station U and assistant Superintendent Al Atkins at College Station.

He visited The New York Age office and plant as the guest of Noah D. Thompson, business manager of Opportunity Magazine.

Average Salary of Colored Employee in Commerce Dept.

New York, Oct. 3.—An analysis of figures recently made public by the U. S. Department of Labor on Federal wages for Negroes shows that the average salary of the 51,182 government employees receiving $52,655,959 annually is $1,243.

The Statistical Bureau of the Department of Labor fixes a living wage at approximately $1,520.

In the U. S. Agricultural Department 1,086 colored employees receive salaries totalling $907,068, an average of $835.

In Herbert Hoover's own Commerce Department 686 are paid $675,629. The average salary is $985.

There are 495 Negroes in the Interior Department receiving salaries aggregating $473,940, an average salary of $932 a year. In the State Department 76 are paid $81,860, an average of $1,070.

The salary of 5,047 Negroes in the Treasury Department amounts to $6,024,499, an average salary of $1,114. There are 25,390 Negroes working in the Post Office Department whose salaries aggregate $35,127,433 a year, an average of $1,384. Ten Negroes work in the White House. Their combined salaries amount to $12,900.

Thomas H. R. Clarke, President of the National Equal Rights League, of appointments to Federal offices.

"They are intended to convey the charges that the figures were given out to show the generosity of the impression that the Republican party should be given credit for this showing, all of which is entirely wrong for the reason that by far the greater portion of these employees were appointed during the Democratic Administration of Woodrow Wilson," points out Mr. Clarke.

"It happened to be an incontestable fact that it was during the war period when this expansion took place. Every Department of the Federal Government was greatly enlarged and many new Departments created. More than 125,000 new war workers came to Washington and were employed by the Democratic Administration then in power. It was at this time that the colored force of the employees was more than doubled."

Mr. Clarke takes exception to the comparison made by the Republican Administration that in 1910 there were 22,540 in the employ of the U. S. Government, whose annual salaries aggregated $12,456,760 and that in June of this year there were 51,882 Negroes on Uncle Sam's payroll whose earning capacity was $64,483,133.

"The release fails to relate that while there were 40,000 Federal employees in the City of Washington there were less than 250 colored men and women of clerical status within the nine Departments of the Federal Government, exclusive of the Washington Post Office, which is local," Mr. Clarke sets forth.

"Colored employees of the Civil Service have been appointed to positions as a result of competitive examinations before the installation of the photograph system of identification. These people won their appointments through no political favor, but because they met the requirements of the Civil Service law.

"Since the installation of the photograph system of identification no colored eligible has been appointed within the last two years, although many were on the eligible list."

IN FIRST N. Y. NEGRO POLICE MEDICAL CHIEF

Dr. Wright is 2nd Among 150 Taking Test for the Office

NEW YORK, Aug. 8.—Dr. Louis T. Wright, a physician of Harlem, stood second highest on the lost for police surgeon, it was revealed Saturday when the examination list was made public. Of 150 physicians who took the examination, only twenty-six were placed on the list. Dr. Wright made a mark of 89.1.

Dr. Wright, who was born in La Grange, Ga., thirty-seven years ago received his A. B. degree at Clark University and in 1915 was graduated from Harvard Medical School. During the war he served as a captain in the Medical Corps and now is attached to the Department of Health at Harlem Hospital. He is married and has two children.

As a police surgeon, Dr. Wright would receive a salary of $4,500 a year. There are two vacancies in the department. He would be the first Negro to obtain that post. There are seventy-four Race patrolmen on the force.

Police Commissioner Warren was asked later about Dr. Wright's prospective appointment and he replied "race, color or politics have nothing to do with it."

His manner indicated that Dr. Wright would get the appointment.

Political - 1928

Ohio

Office Holding

1/14/28 **AN IMPORTANT POST** Pittsburg Courier Pittsburg, Pa

The election of Attorney Harry E. Davis to the Civil Service Commission of the city of Cleveland, Ohio, is a great political gain for the race. Negro councilmen holding the balance of power were responsible for his election. The choice is an excellent one. Mr. Davis is intelligent, capable and militant—the sort of man Negroes need to represent them in this day and time. While Mr. Davis will, in his new position, be representing the entire city, it is well that a Negro of his type should be the one selected. A Negro is in such a position truly representing the race, for whatever his conduct of office may be, the race will gain either credit or discredit by his administration of office.

The election of Mr. Davis brings the number of Negro members of Civil Service Commissions in large cities up to three. There is Mr. Morton in New York City, Bishop Carey in Chicago, and now Mr. Davis in Cleveland. In each case they were elected because of the power of the Negro electorate, which explains why the Southern States persist in disfranchising Negro citizens. Suppose the Negroes were permitted to vote throughout the South! Every State would have a large number of Negro aldermen, mayors, judges, sheriffs, city officials and State legislators, along with the whites. And of course that would never do, would it? Think of all that money and prestige going to Negroes! Think of the public funds that would be spent on Negro education! Think, indeed, of what would happen to the jim-crow institutions!

Cleveland Negro Made Civil Service Member

New York City.—The city of Cleveland has given one of its highest offices, membership on the civil service commission, to a colored man, Harry E. Davis, who has served four years as a member of the Ohio legislature, winning the respect of the entire electorate by his brilliant career in office.

Clippings from the leading Cleveland dailies, received at the offices of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, of whose board of directors Mr. Davis is a member, show that the entire press of Cleveland has been virtually unanimous in commending the election of Mr. Davis.

Speaking of the election, the Cleveland Plain Dealer in an editorial says in part:

"Harry E. Davis has been one of the leaders of the Cuyahoga County delegation in the legislature through several terms. As representative and committee chairman he has invariably given to his work thoughtful consideration. With experience came increased efficiency as a legislator. Barring a political upheaval, not often to be expected in this county, Davis might have continued indefinitely as a member of the general assembly.

"The Civil Service Commission needs members who believe in the merit system, who will do everything possible to realize the hopes of the authors of the charter that the municipal government might be divorced from spoils; who will try with all earnestness to restore to public confidence the idea of an administrative service based on the ability of each appointee to perform the duties for which he is chosen.

Civil service in Cleveland has now reached a point where this conception is particularly needed."

The Plain Dealer's account of Mr. Davis' political record states that he "has long been recognized as one of the most capable members of the general assembly. He has served twice as chairman of the codes committee, one of the most heavily laden. Reports on his services from such agencies as the Citizens' League and observers on the scene daily have been highly complimentary. Had it not been for insuperable downstate prejudice, he doubtless would have been speaker or floor leader long ago, as his ability has been unquestioned."

Mr. Davis, besides his outstanding political activity, has found time to give his services freely as member of the board of directors of the N. A. A. C. P. He has been one of its most active and dependable advisers, serving as attorney when there was need, and keeping in constant communication with the national office.

BLADE
TOLEDO, O.

MAR 23 1928

board.

Colored Judge Honor Guest Here

Toledo's colored citizens will honor one of the foremost members of the race Monday at 7 P. M. in the Douglass Community center when Albert B. George, Chicago municipal judge, will be the guest and principal speaker at a dinner. Mr. George is the first colored man to be elected to a court

A. B. George

of record in the United States. He was named for a six-year term in 1924.

Judge George, born in Washington, D. C., where he attended elementary and high schools, went from there to Northwestern university from which he was graduated in law and was admitted to the bar in Illinois in 1897. Judge George is secretary of the Chicago Urban league, secretary of Provident hospital of Chicago. He will spend Monday afternoon here visiting the courts. He will be accompanied to Toledo by Mrs. George and son.

OHIO NEGRO NAMED PATENT EXAMINER

Superior, Wis., July 10.—(AP)—William Leffingwell, Negro, of Ohio, was appointed by President Coolidge today examiner in chief of the United States patent office, succeeding the late Sidney [illegible] Smith.—Nashville Banner.

Political—1928

Office Holding.

Philadelphia Woman Named City Solicitor

Page Feb. 25, 1928.

New York, N. Y.

Philadelphia, Pa.—The first woman ever named to the City Solicitor's staff was Attorney Sadie T Mossell Alexander, who was named an assistant and assumed her duties on February 15. The appointment was the first outstanding action of Mayor Harry A. Moores' Administration.

Assistant City Solicitor Alexander was assigned to the Road Cases Department, which handles all cases to do with street and subway contracts.

Mrs. Alexander, who is the wife of Attorney Raymond P. Alexander, with whom she was associated in the practice of law, has been practicing law since September, 1927. She is the second colored assistant solicitor, the other being Attorney John A. Sparks, who was appointed by Mayor Kendrick and retained by Mayor Moore.

TIMES
SCRANTON, PA.

MAY 2 - 1928

NEGRO FOR CONGRESS.

Chicago's black belt is to have a negro congressman. Death of Representative Martin B. Madden, who for more than twenty years was congressman from the First Illinois district, opens up the way for the election of a negro in that section of Chicago which is dominated by colored citizens. Years ago the First Illinois district, which is located entirely within the city of Chicago, was populated by business and professional men and the well-to-do generally. Chicago was one of the northern cities which attracted many negro workers who gradually swamped the old First district until today 85 per cent. of the population of the district is colored.

Representative Madden was able to win re-election during the past few years principally by the old trick of dividing the enemy's forces and by distribution of patronage to negro leaders. With his death the last vestige of white domination in the district passed. Yesterday the Republican district committee nominated Oscar De Priest, negro boss of the Second ward and a Thompson follower, for the vacancy on the ticket caused by Mr. Madden's death. Petitions have also been forwarded to Governor Small asking that a special election be held in June so that De Priest or some other negro can be elected for Madden's unexpired term. As the district is overwhelmingly Republican, there is hardly any doubt but that a negro Republican will be elected.

It is twenty-seven years since there was a negro member of the house.

In the whole history of the national congress there has been but twenty negro members. Illinois will be the first northern state to send a negro to Washington. Two negroes have served in the senate. The first negro congressman was elected from a southern state in 1869 during the reconstruction period. Should De Priest be elected, the reaction in the house will be interesting from the fact that he has been associated with Mayor Thompson for a number of years. Only a few weeks ago he was denounced at a mass meeting of negro citizens in his ward.

Business School Student Receives $1200 Appointment

Mr. Paul L. Nicholson in a recent competitive examination at City Hall, Philadelphia, passed at the head of the list and has been appointed clerk-typist at a salary of $1200 per year. Mr. Nicholson wrote 90 words per minute while his nearest competitor wrote 80 words. Mr. Nicholson was trained at The Stenographers' Institute, popularly known as Duncan's Business School, Philadelphia.

Pennsylvania.

MAYOR MACKEY APPOINTS RACE MEN ON COMMITTEE

Eagle 5/19/28

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., May 17.—Mayor Harry Mackey, who has demonstrated from time to time that he intends to live up to his promise of being mayor of "all the citizens of Philadelphia," gave another concrete illustration of what he means here last week.

When His Honor appointed his "Mayor's Reception Committee" to welcome the Bremen flyers he included eight Negroes in its personnel. He has always invited one or more race men to conferences, banquets, etc., which might be classed as civic betterment affairs.

The men named to his committee were Assistant District Attorney John C. Asbury, Assistant U. S. District Attorney E. Washington Rhodes, Assistant City Solicitor G. Edward Dickerson, Magistrate Edward Henry, State Representatives William Fuller and Samuel Hart, Editor Arthur W. Lynch and Major R. R. Wright.

Political-1928

Tennessee.

Office Holding.
Huckstering of Postoffices.

It is to be hoped that the congressional investigation into the buying and selling of postmasterships in Georgia, Florida, Mississippi and other southern states will be more conclusive than was the political investigation into the same alleged crime right here in Memphis. It cannot be forgotten that R. R. Church, negro leader of the Hoover forces, received a whitewash on charges of trafficking in the Memphis postoffice. Despite the sworn evidence both of the man who received the appointment at the hands of Church and others that money was both paid to and demanded by the negro leader, he was acquitted by investigators sent here by a Republican administration. The effect that Church's advocacy of Hoover may have had upon an inquiry conducted by agents of an administration favorable to Hoover can be figured out by every thinking man for himself.

In Georgia the charge of buying and selling of postoffices is laid against another negro Republican leader, Benjamin Jefferson Davis. It is claimed that white men were compelled to be so servile to the negro Davis in order to secure federal jobs under the existing Republican regime that one of them committed suicide. Postmasterships in Georgia were put on the auction block and sold, it is alleged, and the negro Davis was the chief beneficiary of the transaction. There seems to be plenty of evidence if the Senate committee is determined to go into the matter fairly and fearlessly.

The same disgusting states of affairs in the state of Mississippi has been made plain by circumstantial evidence. And again is there a negro in the woodpile. Perry Howard, the dark-skinned boss of the Republican party in Mississippi, lives in Washington, but rules the state with none the less of authority and compels white applicants for jobs to seek his favor. This favor, so charges go, is purchased at so much per.

In Louisiana another negro, Walter Cohen, compels white applicants for jobs to come before him and secure his endorsement. And in Florida the same huckstering of federal jobs has been going on, according to evidence that has been sufficient to bring about an investigation by a Senate committee. Cohen was about the only one of the negro bosses in the south who did not support Hoover, and he lost a good part of his political prestige at the Kansas City convention.

If the national Republican ticket is elected next November negro domination of national politics in the southern states is assured. And this domination will be exerted by the negroes now in authority unless the Senate committee which is to conduct the investigation finds convincing evidence of a criminal nature against them. The investigation should be thorough, nonpartisan and fearless. Leaders of the Republican party should be more than anxious that the stigma on the party's name be removed.

Not Responsible For Low "Race Quota"

POSTMASTER O'CALLAGHAN SAYS THAT HE IS FAIR

Disclaiming any intent, any act of unfair treatment or injustice to the Negro's race quota in the local post office relative to appointments, Dr. W. J. O'Callaghan, the Postmaster, challenges the Nashville Globe of May 11th and asks that his letter be published and the facts be exposed.

The Postmaster, in a very straightforward statement, after an interview with the management of the Nashville Globe, referred to the records to show that the Negro youth of Nashville, the men and women, are responsible for their own sad plight. He says they do not take the examinations, they do not get upon the eligible list, and that their failure to do so makes it impossible for them to be considered among the eligibles. He points our the fact that the Civil Service Laws are very strict, and that he has been guided in each appointment or recommendation for appointment in offering his nominations for positions, by the elgibles on the list, irrespective of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

The president of the Nashville Globe Publishing Company said that he had personally oknwn Dr. O'Callaghan for a number of years, that he had personally known Dr. O'Calwhen the Doctor was a member of the Board of Directors of the Central Y .M. C. A., and he, the president of the Gloke, was a member of the committee of Management of the Colored Branch. He declared that he had not known a man who was more honest in his convictions and more fair in his dealings with the problems that effect both races.

The president of the Nashville Globe says that Dr. O'Callaghan is one hundred per cent American citizen, and that he believes he is too big a man to stoop to anything that would look in anywise like taking advantage of the race because of his position as Postmaster. In the interview that followed, Dr. O'Callaghan was honest and above board.

In his letter addressed to the Nashville Globe, concerning the article, Dr. O'Callaghan brings out the facts and shows that only three Negroes had gotten upon the eligible list out of that total of ninety-one in the past year, and that two of these three Negroes had been appointed to positions and the third one has never been located, so that it develops that one hundred per cent of the Negroes who took the examination and who made the average, was certified to; two were given positions and the other has not been located. In the letter from Dr. O'Callaghan addressed to the Nashvile Globe, he said:

"Nashville, Tenn., May 17, 1928.

"Mr. Henry A. Boyd,

Nashville Tenn.,

Dear Sir:

"I noticed an article in the Nashville Globe of Friday, May 11, headed 'A Race Quota,' in which this Post Office is criticized because there are less Negroes in the service here than in the Post Office at Memphis, Birmingham and other places.

"That is a fact, but it is due to the colored people themselves, in that they do nat stand civil service examinations, or if they do stand them they do not get high enough on the lists to be reached.

"First of all, I would call your attention to the fact that in all civil service examinations ex-service men are given five points, in addition to what they make. For example, when an ex-service man makes a grade of 90, he will be entered on the eligible list with 95, and if he had a partial disability, he would be given 10 points, and his rating would be 100.

"The list that is now effective is of an examination held February, 1927. Of the class that stood that examination there were 71 who passed for clerk and 21 for carrier. To pass one must get an average of 70 or better.

Abolishment Of Race Leaders Real Motive

7/28/28

Encouraged By Success Of Willebrandt In Mississippi, Enemies Seek to Oust Church

MEMPHIS, Tenn., July 26.—Encouraged by the success of Mississippians of the opposite persuasion in securing the indictment of Perry W. Howard on charges of trafficking Federal patronage, according to the Memphis Commercial Appeal, white Republicans of West Tennessee will seek to have the activities of Robert R. Church investigated by Mrs. Mabel Willebrandt, special assistant to the Attorney General of the United States, who is working to "raise the standards of the Republican party in the South." The enemies of Mr. Church stated that they had "uncovered enough to convict Church if the prosecution is honestly and vigorously conducted."

The effort to overthrow Church has been in progress for some time and various charges have been made against him. The Tennessee leader has always been able to emerge victorious with a "clean bill of health" and his friends and supporters of both races here believe that this effort will be futile as were the others. Mr. Church seems unperturbed over the rumor and his supporters have expressed the opinion that no investigation will be held due to lack of evidence which would warrant it.

Political-1928

Office Holding

Talladega, Ala., Home
Thursday, March 22, 1928

CHARGE POST OFFICE AT MEMPHIS UP FOR BARTER

Postmaster General New Has Been Asked Sift Matter to the Bottom

MEMPHIS, Tenn., March 22.—(I. N.S.)—Additional charges that the postmaster's office at Memphis is being used for barter were made today by Tom Taylor, recently ousted from the office and who charges that Bob Church, negro republican leader, here sought to have Taylor pay him $1,000 of his salary.

The Taylor statement follows on the heels of an affidavit by George Poole, federal commissioner, who alleged Church wanted him to pay to him $100 per month if he was named postmaster. Postmaster General New has been asked to sift the matter to the bottom.

his, Tenn. Commercial-Appl.
ednesday, April 11, 1928

G. O. P. 'BLACK HOUSE' REVEALED IN CAPITAL

Southern Negro Leaders Have Joint Headquarters.

LINKS POSTAL SCANDALS

Church, Howard, Jones and Cohen Maintain Political Rendezvous In Washington, Local Republican Declares.

Threads linking the suicide of a Georgia postmaster, the murder of his clerk, the discharge of two postmasters in Florida, and the federal investigation of Bob Church's Tennessee machine, may lead to an office suite overlooking Pennsylvania Avenue, in Washington.

From this "Black House" of Republican politics, the negro G. O. P. leaders of four southern states dispense federal patronage within their districts, a Memphis Republican revealed yesterday.

Bob Church, of Tennessee, Perry Howard, of Mississippi; Ben Jones, of Georgia, and Walter Cohen, of Louisiana, maintain there, according to this informant, a jointly leased headquarters, the center of their political activities.

Office Near Postoffice.

To that office, within a block of the postoffice department, and near the president's mansion, would-be office holders of the south come seeking plums—plums that are sometimes held at a fancy price, recent disclosures would indicate.

It was there, those "in on the know" declare, that Bob Church laid the plans that have in recent weeks brought to his door serious charges of bribe solicitation and of repeated attempts to sell the Memphis postmastership.

It was there, other Republicans say, that Perry Howard forged the power that has made him the acknowledged ruler of the Mississippi Republican party, and an assistant attorney general of the United States.

Ben Jones and his Georgia satellites, chief among them another negro, "Dr." John Ritchey, may have there formulated the recurrent demands for "campaign funds" revealed in a note left by L. S. Peterson, postmaster of Douglas, Ga., after he shot a clerk to death and took his own life.

The federal investigation, growing out of the scandals centered around the Washington office, continued in Memphis yesterday.

G. Tom Taylor, former acting postmaster, and one of Church's accusers, delivered to the two agents assigned here a revised statement containing all of his charges.

Testimony taken from him Sunday was, if not willfully distorted, at least construed in a light favorable to Church, Taylor said yesterday. He requested that he be allowed to revise the affidavit, and yesterday's statement was the result.

Little is known of the agents' activities. They are working under cover, as ordered by the Department of Justice, and the result of their investigation will not be known until the report is received by Attorney General John G. Sargent.

Tennessee

Recorder Of Deeds Department, The Only Office in Washington That Has Colored Man At Its Head in Full Control of Affairs

By James H. Howard.

(For The Associated Negro Press)

The Recorder of Deeds of the District of Columbia is the most important presidential appointment held by a colored man in the Federal Government. Since the Civil War, this outstanding position has been filled by such distinguished colored men as Frederick Douglass, John C. Dancy, Henry P. Cheatham, James Monroe Trotter, and Henry Lincoln Johnson. The present incumbent, Arthur G. Froe, of West Virginia, was appointed by the late President Harding in 1922, and was continued in office by President Coolidge, because of his splendid record.

Under Mr. Froe, the recorder's office has made some wonderful improvements. The floor space and the number of employees has been doubled, the number of employees today being 102, of whom about half are colored. Mr. Froe has installed the latest labor saving devices for speeding up the work and for getting better results; he has put in a looseleaf copying system that will result in the saving of copying of 50,000,000 words a year; he has doubled the pay of his employees; he has had his force placed under the Federal Retirement Act, and he has created some important positions for members of the race, among which are: Second Deputy Recorder and Accounting Officer, held by Jefferson S. Coage, of Delaware; Head of the Index Division, filled by Mrs. Florence B. Waters of Washington, D. C.; and Assistant Head Comparer, filled by Mrs. Ida S. Strachan of Washington, D. C.

The Office of Recorder of Deeds is self-supporting, excepting for the rent which amounts to $14,000 annually, and which is paid by the District of Columbia. During the time that the position of Recorder of Deeds has been filled by colored men, not one has ever been charged with mishandling of its funds; in fact, the record of the personnel along this line is absolutely clear.

The present recorder received considerable publicity during the recent months because of an attempt by the Federal Bureau of Efficiency to place the office under the District Government. The bureau conducted a survey of Mr. Froe's office, and made some 21 recommendations. The Recorder adopted fifteen of them, and several he could not adopt either because they required authority from Congress or they were impracticable. Unable to have its way in this matter, the bureau began a campaign of propaganda to force the retirement of the present head and to have Congress to pass acts, putting the office under the local government. In both it was unsuccessful.

The Recorder's Office is one of the few important government divisions that is not operating under Civil Service. Because of this fact, competent colored men and women experience less difficulty in securing recognition and placement than in any other office under the Federal Government. Moreover, colored employees are not forced to work under conditions of segregation.

The present incumbent, Arthur G. Froe, is the senior member of the leading colored law firm of West Virginia, composed of Harry J. Capehart, Assistant United States District Attorney for the Southern District of West Virginia, and Leon P. Miller. The majority of this firm's clients are white. Mr. Froe has devoted all of his time to administering the affairs of his office. He is quiet, firm, efficient, and fair, and because of his conscientious efforts, he has done much to create a favorable sentiment for our group in the National Capitol.

Political - 1928

Texas.

Office Holding

Many Negroes In Pension Bureau Holding Big Posts

Then comes the Bureau of Pensions with 521 white employees and 60 Negroes giving us slightly over a ten per cent representation. Among those in genuinely consequential positions in Uncle Sams service who may be found in this bureau dictating and composing letters that contain department rulings upon pensions claims are three of our group. Two of the number are LL. B. men. They are Jacob R. Combs and Edward Webster. They, with William W. McCary are listed as examiners. All three are experts on questions involving legal widowhood, soldier service dependence and the host of related problems that must find consideration according to regulations and office practice in the granting of claims to pension rights. Their work demands mature judgment and calm consideration.

Dr. David A. Lane, medical reviewer since 1890, is found in this same bureau where he passes upon pathalogical questions involved in pension claims. He is charged with reconciling the allegations of claimants with the reports of examining surgeons. His is a delicate and responsible service, making use of the knowledge the degrees of A. B. and M. D. herald as being his.

Key men among the important group who compose the personnel of Howard University are of course Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president, who since June 30 has directed the destinies of the university. He is an authority on science, medicine, law and theology. Associated with him in this conduct of the business of a university whose appropriation provides for a tremendous expenditure of funds which must be carefully handled, is Dr. Emmett J. Scott, secretary-treasurer, whose history is too well known to require recounting.

At Freedmen's Hospital one finds men who have contributed to the sum total of the medical knowledge of the world and who command respect for their attainments. One of these is Dr. William A. Warfield, surgeon in chief since 1901, after serving in a minor capacity from 1895. He supervises the handling of 4,000 indoor patients annually. He personally performs and demonstrates many operations, and is holder of the degree of B. S. and M. D.

The roentgenologist of Freedmen's is Dr. Price Hurst, son of the widely known Bishop Hurst. He has charge of the laboratories, gives X-Ray treatments, conducts research work and makes and interprets all radiographs. He is an A. B. and an M. D.

Nor is Dr. Hurst the only scientist in the department service, for returning to the Interior building, one meets William B. McClendon who entered the government service as a laborer, later becoming a messenger clerk and by dint of study prepared himself to assume charge of the phostatic work to which he was assigned in 1926. With his three assistants he photographs all records, mats, charts etc., required by the department. The methods of development used are all approved by him.

Clerk In General Land Office

Mr. Carter entered the service of the General Land Office in 1914, as copyist, and has been promoted through the various grades of clerk to the position of correspondence clerk. In this capacity he answers inquiries from members of congress, lawyers, and others interested in public lands or in cases pending before the land office, and gives advice and instructions as to the method to be pursued to secure title to public land. His work requires a thorough knowledge and understanding of the homestead, public sale, timber and stone laws, and related regulations and precedents of the department and courts. as it is necessary for him to interpret and construe the various laws involved in cases and to adjudicate the rights of claimants when involved in the inquiry. Mr. Carter holds the degree of LL. B.

The salary scale in the Department of the Interior is one of wide range, and Negroes seem to have "run the scale." Some earn $900 per year, and there is one at $5,400 with representation in about every bracket between these figures. There are 70 student nurses who receive $480 plus their training and subsistence. With the exception of these $900 is the minimum figure with the bulk of employees drawing below the two thousand dollar mark, though quite a few are above that. In all the 448 Negro employees of the Interior Department, exclusive of ten field men with per diem allowance, total $561,680 in annual incomes.

Political - 1928

Office Holding.

Virginia

NEWS
RICHMOND, VA

APR 21 1928

Negro Attorney Here is Made Court Commissione

J. C. Robertson, local Negro attorney, has been appointed a commissioner of the Richmond circuit court, by Judge Julien Gunn, and is said to be the first Negro ever named to such a position here. His appointment was made on the recommendation of the Negro attorneys of Richmond.

The principal duty of a commissioner of the circuit court is to preside at the taking of depositions.

Political- 1928.
Office Holding

West Virginia

PITTSBURGH, PA.

NEGRO WOMAN GIVEN SEAT IN LEGISLATURE

Welch, W. Va.—(ANP—When the house of delegates is called to order, Mrs. E. Howard Harper, prominent West Virginia race woman, will occupy a chair among its members. It will mark the first time that a colored American woman has filled an office in a state legislature.

Mrs. Harper was recommended by the Republican executive committee to Governor Gore for appointment as a member of the house of delegates, to fill the vacancy created by the recent death of her husband, Hon. E. Harper. Governor Gore supported the recommendation as required by a state law. 1-21-28

Hon. Harper was one of the most popular members of the West Virginia house of delegates. He was serving his third term as legislator.

PENSACOLA FLA.
Journal
JAN 8 1928

Negress Will Serve In This Legislature

WELCH, W. Va., Jan. 7.—(AP)—The widow of E. Howard Harper today was recommended by the republican executive committee to Governor Gore for appointment to the house of delegates to fill the vacancy created by the recent death of her husband, who was serving his third term. The woman, a negress, will be the first negro woman member of any legislature in the country, leaders of her race here said tonight following investigation of the records of state legislatures. The governor is required by law to follow the committee's recommendation.

NEGRO WOMAN IS APPOINTED TO W. VA. HOUSE

WELCH, W. Va.—Mrs. E. Howard Harper, has been selected by the Republican State Central Committee to fill the unexpired term in the House of Delegates of her husband who died December 21.

According to the West Virginia law, the appointment of Mrs. Harper is mandatory upon the governor. She will be the first Negro woman ever accorded such an honor in any state in the union.

As the state legislature does not meet in regular session until after the next election, Mrs. Harper will not get an opportunity to actually serve at the state capital unless a special session is called.

Attorney E. Howard Harper, deceased, was ending his third term in the House of Delegates. He was a graduate of Virginia Normal Institute, and the law department of Howard University.

WILL CONTEND FOR RIGHTS OF NEGRO, SAYS RACE SOLON

Informer. Houston, Texas. 2-18-28

Keystone, W. Va.—(ANP)—While declaring that until recently she interested only in the management of her home, and that politics represented a new field to her, Mrs. Minnie B. Harper, first colored woman to serve in the state legislature, in a statement to the Associated Negro Press here last week, pointed out that she was laying plans to continue the fight started by her husband for the full rights of citizenship for Negroes.

Mrs. Harper was appointed to complete the term of her husband, who passed away a short time ago. Since her appointment she has been studying conditions faced by our group, and declared, "I shall do my utmost to maintain the standards for which my husband stood, and do all in my power for the uplift and advantage of our people and for the party with which I am affiliated."

Several important bill affecting the Negro are planned for presentation to the legislature at an early date, and Mrs. Harper is depended upor to support them.

TIMES

FEB 20

126 Women in Legislatures; One Is a West Virginia Negro

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 19.—There are 126 women in the various State Legislatures this year, according to a survey by the National League of Women Voters. Last year there were 124.

One of the members this year is a negro woman, Mrs. E. Howard Harper, a Republican, of West Virginia, the first negro woman member of any Legislature in the country. She was appointed by the Governor to succeed her late husband, the report says.

The Republican women are more than double the Democrats, the representation on the 1928 rosters being given as: Republicans, 86; Democrats, 34; no party designation, 4; non-partisan, 1; Independent, 1.

Only nine of the forty-eight State Legislatures meet this year, and in these States, namely, Kentucky, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Mississippi, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, South Carolina and Virginia, there are nineteen women members.

Named Asst. U. S. Atty. As Birthday Gift

CHARLESTON, W Va. — Harry J. Capehart, of Welch, McDowell County, was appointed last week an assistant district attorney for the southern West Virginia federal district, the first of his group to be so honored in this state.

Mr. Capehart, a native West Virginian and Howard University law graduate, is a former member of the lower house of the legislature, having served in the sessions of 1918, 1920 and 1922. He introduced and steered through to their passage an anti-lynching law, a law prohibiting the screen or stage exhibition of such shows as the "Birth of a Nation", and the act of creating the schools for the colored deaf and blind.

In addition to handling the extensive law practice of the firm of Froe, Capehart and Miller during the enforced absence of its senior mentor, Arthur G. Froe, recorder of deeds for the District of Columbia, he didirects the affairs of a hotel and a house furnishing establishment, both in substantial buildings which he owns.

Mr. Capehart will celebrate his birthday May 2nd.

Press

APR 23 1928

Negro Woman Legislator.

A colored woman is a full-fledged member of the West Virginia legislature, says the Pathfinder. George W. Sharp, West Virginia's secretary of state, advises the Pathfinder as follows: "E. Howard Harper, colored, was a member of the last session of the West Virginia legislature. Some time ago Howard died and, under the laws of our state, the county executive committee of McDowell county recommended the appointment of Harper's wife to fill out his unexpired term. Under this recommendation the governor appointed Mrs. Harper to serve out the unexpired term of her husband."

Summerville, Ga., News
Thursday, May 3, 1928

NEGRO WOMAN SOLON OF WEST VIRGINIA

We have become accustomed to seeing women in high public office, having had one as United States senator, several in the lower branch of congress, two as governors and many in the legislatures of the several states.

But a negro woman of West Virginia, is believed to be the only woman of her race to hold the office of representative in a state legislature. How she came to this position is told in a letter from George W. Sharp, secretary of state, who writes: ,

"E. Howard Harper, colored, was a member of the last session of the West Virginia legislature. Some time age Howard died, and under the laws of our state the county executive committee of McDowell county recommended the appointment of Harper's wife to fill out his unexpired terb. Under this recommendation the governor appointed her to serve out the unexpired term of her husband."

And that's that.

Pick W. Va. Negro District Attorney

Charleston, W. Va.—(ANP)—Harry J. Capehart, a member of the law firm of Froe, Capehart and Miller, has been appointed as assistant district attorney for the southern West Virginia district, the first Negro to receive such an appointment in this state. A graduate of Howard University, Att'y Capehart has had a busy career. He served three terms in the state legislature and was the author of an anti-lynching law, a law prohibiting the stage or screen exhibition of such shows as the "Birth of a Nation," and the act creating the schools for colored deaf and blind.

APPOINTED

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Mr. Capehart is a native of West Virginia and a Howar University law graduate. He ser ed in the lower house of the leg l lature during the sessions of 191 1920 and 1922.

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